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पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

JANUARY, 1937

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

ADMINISTRATION IN INDO-CHINA WITH INDIAN COMPARISONS

By Monsieur C. A. Le Neveu
(Director-General of the Union Coloniale Française.)

There are honours one feels all the more that they are so unmerited as to cover the recipient with confusion. That which was conferred upon me when I was asked to deliver a lecture before the East India Association is so evidently one of them that elementary wisdom should have prompted me to decline it. When it was made clear that the lecture not only was to be on "French Administration in Indo-China," but that "some comparisons should be drawn with British administration in India," there is no doubt that my acceptance was a sign of being struck with dementia. I realize that I am entangled in one of the innumerable intricacies which will face me all along. Comparisons are practically impossible between the systems—or shall we say the systems *and* traditions?—of two different nations.

What I mean is that there is no common measure—that is, no means of comparison—between French administration in Indo-China and British administration in India, for the simple and decisive reason that our administration overseas is, quite naturally, derived from our home laws and customs, whereas you, quite as naturally, remain imbued with your national principles and traditions whenever you transplant British administrative policy abroad.

This is so self-evident that those who drafted the Covenant, and who had the power, and perhaps the desire, to establish a uniform system of administration for mandated territories, deliberately abstained from doing so. Article 22 merely refers to "principles,"

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and, provided they are respected or enforced, Mandatory Powers remain perfectly free to choose the methods of administration they prefer, or are best prepared to apply; in point of fact: those in which their Civil Servants have been trained. I believe, moreover, that all who have studied comparatively French and British colonial institutions are agreed on the impossibility of assimilating one to the other.

Indo-China

I am here, however, to speak on Administration in Indo-China, "with Indian comparisons." Before comparing, it is as well to know how each element stands. My first task is to make clear to a British audience, more versed than I am in Asiatic affairs, that administration in Indo-China bears, in most respects, the mark of French "genius" inasmuch as it is permeated with the spirit that pervades our characteristic methods and procedures.

This may be emphasized in a few words: by status the Governor-General of Indo-China is "the depository of the powers of the Republic." Practically, therefore, a similitude seems to exist with India, where all the territories under British control are vested in His Majesty, and all the powers of the Viceroy are exercised in his name. It is, of course, only so in appearance. The entity known as Indo-China, which comprises the colony of Cochin China, the Protectorates of Tonking, Annam and Cambodia, the territory of Laos and the small territory of Kwang Tchu Wan, is far less intricate than India, with its British provinces and its Indian States or Agencies, its innumerable Princes and Chiefs. The fact that there are in Annam a French concession (Tourane) and a province (Darlac), two concessions in Tonking (Hanoï and Haiphong) and a territory in Cambodia (Battambang), which are under the direct rule of a French official, makes in itself a poor semblance of the mosaic that exists in India. The complexity of administration it entails is such that the Viceroy, as befits his very title, has to depend upon diplomacy as much as, if not more than, upon administrative ability.

In the eyes of French public opinion, Indo-China is a vast colony, of twenty-two million inhabitants, occupying, between

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India and China, a territory equal in size to France and Belgium combined. Such a simple conception is a sure sign that the average Frenchman does not differentiate between the colony of Cochin China and the Protectorates of Cambodia and Annam. As a matter of fact, not infrequently does one hear of the Member of Parliament returned by the electorate of Cochin China referred to as the "Deputy for Indo-China."

When differences were settled between the French Government and the Emperor of Annam, Cochin China was ceded to France in full sovereignty and was at once given the status of a colony. It was our first step into the peninsula, and the word colony, which was then—the 'sixties—in general use for designating an establishment overseas, became all the more usual and set in our vocabulary. Later—for the first time in 1887—the trend in French colonial policy matured in the formation of an "Indo-Chinese Union," with a Governor-General directly responsible for the policy of all the provinces under his Government. In fact, however, the status of each of these provinces was maintained.

The occupation of Cochin China led to difficulties with the Emperor of Annam, which ended with the establishment, by successive treaties, of France's protectorate of Cambodia (in 1863), Tonking (in 1884) and Annam itself (in 1886). The Laos territory was later (in 1893) also placed under French protectorate, as also the independent State of Luang Prabang within that territory. Kwang Tchu Wan was leased from China in 1898.

There is, then, a Governor-General, responsible for the administration of at least five different countries, each having a separate status, recognized by treaty, which necessitates a varied administration, and yet all forming an administrative "union," that of Indo-China. To understand its organization, it is best to analyze briefly the chief elements of each component, and to see afterwards how the authority of the super-government is exercised on the whole.

Cochin China

Cochin China, being a colony proper—that is, a country with no remains of a government of its own—is under direct French administration. At the head is a Governor, who is appointed by

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the French Government, but is primarily responsible to the Governor-General. Each of the twenty provinces is under an "Administrator of the Civil Service." To avoid repetition, let me say now that the system is the same for the thirteen provinces of Cambodia, those of Tonking (twenty-three), those of Annam (sixteen) and the ten provinces of Laos. In the colony of Cochin China, however, this civil servant is called "Administrator *of* the Province," whereas in Cambodia, Annam and Tonking he is "Administrator-Resident *in* the Province of . . . " which indicates clearly that he is to supervise local administration under the indirect rule system, and not to govern. In Laos, they are "Administrator-Commissary *for* the Government," another term to differentiate indirect, as against direct government.

The Governor of Cochin China is assisted by two councils: a Privy Council and a Colonial Council. I find it difficult to explain the composition and the rôle of such councils for the simple reason that, here again, words have not the same meaning in your system as in ours. The mere enumeration of titles may convey a misleading idea, because you are naturally apt to endow each with a part which they do not always play in our administration, although they are fully entitled to it in your own.

Let us simply note, therefore, that in the Privy Council the Governor, who presides, is assisted by five of the highest officials of the colony, including the Attorney-General, and by two French citizens and two indigenous "notables." Those four non-official members are appointed for two years (together with a substitute for each, who sits in their place in case of need) by the Governor-General, on their nomination by the Governor. It is a purely consultative body, the opinion of which must, however, be sought in some definite matters, financial, fiscal and administrative. It is a permanent body in this sense, that it meets at any time it is summoned by the Governor, and its deliberations are valid only if *all* members (or their substitutes) are present. A majority is necessary to carry a vote.

The Privy Council may be taken as being a sort of Cabinet—except for the presence of four non-official members—in which the Governor is able to hear opinions on which to sanction his

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own decision—although it may be that his opinion is probably formed before he convenes the body he must consult. The Colonial Council, on the other hand, may seem a step forward towards local government as you understand it. I hazard this remark with great reluctance. I have lived long enough in your country in the past to know how you feel about franchise, local government and Parliament. However casual may have been my studies, if I may call them such, of the ways in which, and the tenacity and sincerity with which, you have carried those ideals with you to your possessions overseas, as if they were—and I believe they are—second nature for you, I am really most embarrassed at the mere idea of presenting our institutions under the angle at which you are accustomed to see your own.

Parliamentary Institutions

I may recall what I said at the beginning on the difficulty of comparing things which are not comparable. If we go to the root of things, I hope, speaking of Parliament, I am not committing a crime of lèse-patriotism in stating bluntly that, although we are supposed to have imported into France the system or the idea of Parliamentary government, we have applied it in such a way as to make it unrecognizable. And yet, as words have their meanings, and each individual—or each nation—will give them the sense they are best used to, when you read news of our political activities, you do so with an involuntary distortion of facts, which is apt to be erratic if not unjust. We are sinners, too, in the same way, and I am not complaining. Let me recall, as an illustration, the way in which a good and commonplace gesture has been misrepresented when transported and transplanted into an alien land. Some years ago it transpired that traffic was better regulated in London than in Paris and some official was sent over here to study matters. He was, no doubt, struck with the way your admirable policeman gently waved his hand to indicate the way was clear and to invite traffic to proceed. This was carefully noted, imported home, where it became part and parcel of the instructions of the Paris "agent." But alas, within a day, if not within an hour, the temperament of the Paris policeman had the better of

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him, and soon the calm movement of the hand, which was expected to do wonders, as in London, degenerated into a nervous, rapid gesture, accompanied by blasts of a whistle, urging, nay, demanding, rushing response, whereas wary haste only was necessary.

Cochin China Electorate

Has this trivial but inoffensive recollection helped to illustrate my point? And may I now proceed to explain how, under French administration, Cochin China must have followed an evolution which can only be understood if looked at from a French angle?

The Colonial Council in Cochin China is "representative" in this sense, that no official receiving a salary from the local or the metropolitan government is eligible. There are twenty-four members in all, twelve of them French citizens and twelve natives. They are all elected for four years.

The electorate is different for the French and for the native members. Each French male citizen, of full age, with at least one year's residence in Cochin China, has a vote. A naturalized native or his issue may, however, opt for the native electorate, but in so doing he bars himself for some time from subsequent inclusion in the French electorate.

Besides the ten members so returned, the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Agriculture each elects two members who must be of French nationality. Any French citizen (apart from the Civil Servants in active service, as previously noted) who has a vote is eligible, provided he is not less than 25 years of age and is a resident in Cochin China of at least two years' standing.

The native electorate is derived practically from the "système censitaire" which was the rule in France until 1848. In short, natives of 25 years of age and above, who either pay a minimum tax of $20 a year, hold a licence as merchants, or a "certificate" acknowledging some schooling, who are members of chambers of commerce or agriculture, active or retired officials, chiefs and notables, etc., have a vote. Any voter is eligible, provided he is at least 30 years old and has a sufficient knowledge of the French language. As with French members, no native is eligible if he is

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a paid official on active service. Two natives are returned, as are the French, by the Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture.

The members elect their own chairman, two deputy-chairmen and two secretaries. The Governor has always the right to be present at the meetings which, moreover, are public, unless necessity demands debating a subject *in camera*.

The Council meets once a year for a maximum period of twenty days, and the meeting is convened by the Governor. But there is a Permanent Committee, which is elected among the Councillors, comprising from five to seven members, two of whom must be natives, and which assists the Governor during the interval between sessions.

Council Rules

The Colonial Council is legislative, representative and consultative, according to the questions it deals with.

1. Estimates are submitted to the Council, and they may be passed with or without amendments, provided, however, (*a*) the Budget be balanced and (*b*) "obligatory expenditure" is passed, such as arrears of public debt.

2. The Council passes all *direct* taxation, subject to the approval of the Governor. Should this be refused, a second reading is requested and, should this not be sanctioned by a satisfactory vote, direct taxes continue to be levied for another year under the system or assessment previously passed by the Council.

3. It legislates on other matters, provided only that its decisions are not in contradiction to existing provisions of French law.

4. It is consulted compulsorily on certain matters which have no bearing on economic or financial policy—for example, education.

Each Administrator-Chief of a province is similarly assisted by a Provincial Council, but one composed of natives only, elected in the same way and under the same system as are the native members of the Colonial Council. As a rule each canton returns one member (there are 215 cantons in Cochin China); but as they are very unevenly divided between provinces, a canton may return two or three members so as to make up a minimum of ten members per Council.

I simply mention here the fact, dealt with later, that both French citizens and natives are also represented in France by their delegates to the Superior Colonial Council which meets in Paris. But before leaving Cochin China it is essential to quote my friend Sir

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Hesketh Bell's *Foreign Colonial Administration in the Far East.**

"One of the chief differences between the French and the British systems of colonial administration is the degree of representation granted to the colonies in the metropolitan Parliament. While the British territories overseas are represented only on Ministerial benches, the French colonies have, for a long period, been granted the privilege of sending members to both Senate and Chamber of Deputies. Fourteen of these representatives sit in the French Parliament. . . . Those Senators and Deputies are elected in the same way as their metropolitan colleagues."

I should very much like to quote Sir Hesketh Bell further, as his conclusions on this question, amongst many others, would carry a far greater weight than my own in a matter probably difficult to grasp by Englishmen, rightly immersed in their own practice of government. As a former colonial Governor, with an experience surpassed by none, Sir Hesketh is able to throw light on many subjects which would gain if they were the matter of more frequent and unbiased exchange of views.

"One and Indivisible"

Cochin China is blessed with one Deputy, so far. He is returned by the same French electorate that returns members to the Colonial Council. At the last general election, the electorate numbered 4,602 and 3,082 cast their votes. The candidate who was returned at the second poll received 1,566 votes as against 1,536 to his competitor, a majority of thirty. We touch here on one of the sacred principles of the French Revolution, that the nation is "one and indivisible." Under similar circumstances, you would choose to create a local parliament calling upon an ever-increasing electorate freely to elect those whom they would like to appoint guardians of their rights and liberties to the best of their ability. This is a tradition which found its first public expression at Runnymede and has never faltered since. Having entrusted their own liberties to representative institutions, British settlers overseas have not for one moment thought that they could be otherwise treated there than in England. And this explains the quasi-spontaneous formation of self-governments wherever the Union Jack is hoisted.

* London, Edward Arnold and Co., 1928.

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I ask you to realize that the French follow another trend of thought and have other methods or aims in view. Whether it be because France has groped so long for unity, or for some other reason—for instance, our irritating logic, which, by the way, may have some connection with that constant aim at unity—the fact is that the principle of unity has played a great, if unconscious, part in the setting of our methods of administration and government of colonies. One of our former Ambassadors here used to say we are not a race but are undoubtedly a nation. This may, and I think does, explain a good deal, amongst other things the fact we have not the sense of colour or, if you prefer, the prejudice of colour.

And yet, instead of calling the people of our possessions together to form those local governments you are so proud of, we prefer to reverse the method and enable them to come to our own Parliament and take part in the making of our own laws. For I wish you to realize that a native, provided he is a citizen, is in no way barred from the French Parliament and, although the present Member for Cochin China is a white man, many are and have been the coloured natives sitting in the Chamber of Deputies or in the Senate.

The Policy of Association

We should try, I suppose, to judge on the merits and demerits of the case, and I am all the more ready to do so that I own to be greatly in favour of local government, wherever it is possible. Our policy of association should have a wholesome influence on the populations we have under our guidance. That guidance is somewhat more subtle in the Protectorates. There, indirect rule is the password. It is indirect on principle, but in practice you probably find that our attitude towards the native rulers and chiefs is nearer direction than advice or control. My illustrious chief, Marshal Lyautey, reduced indirect rule to a fine art, and I hope many here have read what he wrote as early as 1894 when, a mere major of cavalry, he returned from a visit he was called upon to pay to the then unfortunate boy-emperor of Annam. The whole of his brilliant colonial career is there in a nutshell.

Perhaps there should be a special corps in the Colonial Civil Service, trained for duty in Protectorates. It must be very diffi-

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cult for a man who has been for years in full command, a sort of modern satrap, to become a gentle but firm adviser, to control and not to execute, to govern and not to administer. There are, no doubt, men with such powers of adaptation who do wonders in either capacity. I am not sure, however, that they are the majority, nor that indirect rule is always applied with the desired elasticity and smoothness.

Councils and Chambers

Institutions, nevertheless, show plainly a varied application. The Privy Council of Cochin China becomes the Protectorate Council in Annam, Tonking and Cambodia. But the Colonial Council is replaced by a Native Consultative Chamber (Annam and Tonking) or Assembly (Cambodia and Laos).* Members of Chambers or Assemblies are elected practically on the same lines as are the natives to the Colonial Council, at the ratio of one member per 20,000 tax-payers. The chief difference lies in the appointment by the Governor-General of native public servants and notables, whereas you will remember that no paid official (European or native) may sit in the Colonial Council, and I believe the proportion of elected and nominated members is eight to one.

The Chamber—or Assembly—meets once a year for about ten days, in the second half of June. It chooses, by secret ballot, a committee of seven, which in their turn elect, in the same way, the President and two secretaries. Divisions in ordinary business are also by ballot. A French official is at the disposal of the meetings to give advice or explanations on matters under discussion. The Government are under the obligation to submit the Budget to examination and the Chamber may express their wishes or desires on any other subject, save those of a political nature.

The Indigenous Rulers

All business transacted is to be submitted to, or in agreement with, the French Resident and not to, or with, the Emperor of

* To these is added a "French Economic and Financial Council," with a purely consultative rôle. It has, however, power to suggest new or different revenue and expenditure. Its principal feature is that all its members are returned by all the French electorate, exactly as they would be in the Metropolis.

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Annam or the King of Cambodia. (As you know, Tonking has no sovereign of its own: it is part of the Annam Empire, and the Emperor has permanently vested his authority in the French Resident, who is thus "Kinh-Luoc.") And yet the reigning sovereigns of the protected States retain their authority, are assisted by their own Cabinet Ministers and Great Chancellors, and other councillors, all chosen according to the ancient customs of the country. This is all very intricate to the layman, all the more that it varies with each Court.* For instance, the King of Cambodia

"administers his Government by means of ordinances, which his subjects are bound to obey. Such ordinances need not necessarily be considered by his Council, but cannot be promulgated until they have been agreed to and countersigned by the Resident. The sovereign is the head of the native Civil Service and may appoint and dismiss Cambodian officials at his pleasure, provided his acts be in accordance with Regulations that have already been approved."

In retaining the form of monarchy in these States, we have also preserved, if with many changes, the native auxiliaries, Mandarins, who belong to a hierarchy, the Mandarinate, which is a very ancient Annamite institution, very similar to that of old China. The fundamental principle remains that rank in the Mandarinate is predominant over the function (except in Tonking, for the reason mentioned previously). But considering that French authorities may, in certain cases, bestow both title and rank on some functionaries in public service, this seems to minimize an ancient institution which, under proper guidance, might have suited tradition better than some European importations.

It is commonly said that, as a rule, the French Civil Service has a marked tendency towards the general introduction of direct administration. How "marked" is, of course, difficult to appreciate. More subtle, and I think more appropriate, is the other tendency which constitutes a sort of balance of administra-

* Those interested in ancient Annamite institutions might read *L'Annam d'autrefois*, A. Challamel and Co., 17, rue Jacob, Paris, 1907 (now Société d'Editions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales). This book was written by the late P. Pasquier, when he was a District Officer in Annam, before his appointment as Governor-General of Indo-China.

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tive power: whenever it seems opportune to give more scope to Mandarins, French administrators are retrenched. The influx of a greater number of European officials in a province is a sure sign that Mandarin power has to suffer a setback.

The Judiciary

One of the chief points in French colonial government is the great importance attached to the distinct separation of administrative from judicial functions. This is, of course, a fundamental constitutional point in France, and it is especially observed in matters of justice administered by native officials, where it is thought that specific influences had better be avoided whenever possible.

According to our national habits, we have endeavoured to codify native law and I believe this is a blessing to all, and especially to accused persons, just as I believe that similar good was attained by Macaulay's codifying work in India. We have, moreover, created law schools, where native judiciaries may be trained. Instruction of cases is entrusted to Mandarins who are at the head of the local administration concerned.

You all know that the contrast between French and British systems is probably nowhere so fundamental as in judicial procedure. Of course, in Indo-China we have closely followed the French practice. We have had to improve on it in this way, that we had to deal with (*a*) purely French jurisdiction, (*b*) native jurisdiction and (*c*) mixed cases. The principle is that no French citizen may be tried before a native court. In our colonial terminology, we say "French, Europeans or assimilated," and "assimilated" often covers all that is not aboriginal. Therefore if a European or a Hindu is involved in a case, whether it be civil, criminal or commercial, the only competent court is the French Tribunal. The principle is so strictly adhered to that if a case arises in Annam, for instance, between an Annamite and a Cambodian or a Tonkinese, it is brought before the French and not the native judges. In native courts native laws and customs are enforced, variously of course in each State. Cochin China, as a colony, has no native courts of any kind. French courts deal

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with French cases as would a Tribunal in France. But when they have to deal with natives *inter se*, they are confronted with entirely new legislation, in which learned jurists have endeavoured, with success I am told, to embody principles of native common law into an organic text based on French law, in order to enable judges to pass equitable sentences appropriate to the local conditions.

* * * * *

I have often heard it said that in France we work from the bottom up, and that the village or commune "is the fundamental unit of the French system of administration." That may be so. It reminds me that some cities in Indo-China enjoy the privilege of a special administration, under a Resident-Mayor. But time prevents me from enlarging upon those details.

The Governor-General

I must, before I state conclusions, explain the rôle and functions of the Governor-General. The best definition I can offer is that he is the permanent delegate of the French Government in Indo-China, where he presides over the whole of the Union practically in the same way as the Colonial Minister in Paris would do if there was no Governor-General. He has therefore the upper hand, not only over the whole administration, but also over the personnel in charge. He has also power to legislate by decree, as has the Minister, provided, of course, his "orders" are within the scope of French legislation applicable in the Union. He must, nevertheless, respect the administrative autonomy of the Governor or Resident at the head of a State included in the Union, as long as the exercise of such autonomy is not contrary to the paramount interests of the Union.

The Governor-General promulgates the laws and decrees which shall be applied in the Union. He may refuse such promulgation if he thinks it necessary, but has to refer to Paris in the matter. On the other hand, should he wish to promulgate a text which is not *in se* applicable in the Union, he must seek special authorization, which, if granted, is given by decree.

He settles the general Budget and those of the States, contracts

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public loans (which are to be sanctioned by an Act of Parliament, if issued with the guarantee of the French Government, or by a "Decree in Council of State," if without that guarantee). He alone is qualified to assess taxes other than custom duties, and yet taxes have to be approved in Paris before they may be levied.

The Councils

Several Councils assist the Governor-General. First, the Council of Government, which is practically a grouping of all the heads of the different services of the Government-Général (civil, judiciary and military), of the Governors, or Residents of the five States, to whom are added the Member of Parliament for Cochin China, the Delegates—of whom I shall speak later—for Tonking, Annam and Cambodia, and five notables, one for each State, nominated by the Governor-General.

It is obvious, from its very composition, that this body is merely consultative, and so it is not so very important to analyze its duties. They may be said to be, *in globo*, similar to those of the Privy Council in Cochin China.

In recent years, a step forward was made, under the influence of what has been successfully achieved in Algeria since 1900: a new body was called upon, if not to bear direct influence over administration, at least to share in its elaboration. The *Grand Conseil des Intérêts Économiques* has fifty-one members in all, twenty-eight French and twenty-three natives. French or native members are selected in the same way—*i.e.*, twenty-two French and eighteen natives are chosen by the local councils or assemblies, which you will remember are elected, and six French and five natives—out of active service—are nominated by the Governor-General.

The Grand Conseil has an ordinary session of twenty to thirty days every year, but the Governor-General may summon one or several extraordinary sessions if needs be. Two "permanent committees" sit, one in Hanoï and the other in Saigon, for transaction of business between the sessions. The Governor-General has permanent access to the Grand Conseil and the opening of the

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session gives him a welcome opportunity to review the situation and to make a statement of his general policy. He may also delegate any of his representatives to take part in the proceedings.

As is the case with other consultative bodies, the Budget, estimates of public works, etc., are necessarily brought before the Conseil. But whereas the Colonial Council of Cochin China passes the estimates and *direct* taxation of the colony, the Grand Conseil is merely consulted on the Budget of the Union and passes *indirect* taxation and public loans. The Governor-General has power to demand that the Conseil reconsider their vote. If a second vote does not meet with the approval of the Administration, the question is submitted to arbitration by a Conciliation Committee, presided over by the Governor-General and composed of six members, three of whom are chosen by the Executive Council and three by the Grand Conseil.

In sum, it seems the Grand Conseil has less initiative and less power than the Colonial Council. It is, nevertheless, an attempt at legislative, but not at Parliamentary government, as the Administration is not responsible to any of these councils.

Comparisons with India

How am I to draw any comparisons between your Indian administration and a system so permeated and imbued with French ideas and traditions? With us everything is supposed to be closely linked to the rest, to the extent that "from the bottom up" one floor has not been added to the edifice until the previous one has been ascertained to be sound and solid, or rather the building has been erected all at once, but with enormous forethought and preparation, as a logical monument. In India, on the other hand, everything is left, not to chance of course, but to the force of events, constituting on your part a patient and well-wishing effort to adapt methods, even principles, to facts. We are met with the clash, I might say, of entirely different concepts, rendered all the more apparent because the chief elements we are confronted with —human beings of differing outlook—are not in themselves comparable.

Let us begin with size and number. What are our 285,000

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square miles and our 22 million people as against the enormous mass of India, a world in itself of 350 million inhabitants?

Race is homogeneous in Indo-China and varied in India, where you have diversity, chiefly in religious matters, to an extent which is perhaps not equalled anywhere else. There is no caste in Indo-China, as in India. India is an Empire, with an Emperor: your King. Indo-China is a Government-General, similar to others, administered like others by the Colonial Office of Paris, just as might be your West Africa if you thought fit, as we have, to place Gambia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Gold Coast under the supervision of one high official residing in Lagos or in Freetown.

Furthermore, in the very origin of our establishments there are differences which are an insurmountable barrier to comparisons. From the days of the East India Company and its essential commercial aims, there have been incessant negotiations, conquests and annexations with numerous sovereigns, princes and chiefs involved. When we first arrived in Indo-China, the old Cham and Khmer dynasties had long ceased to play their part in civilization, and we were only faced with the rivalry of the sovereigns of Cambodia and Annam.

Points of Similarity

Those premises, at best very incomplete, are, to say the least, discouraging. But extremes meet, and I hope I shall not be taxed with upholding a paradox if I endeavour to find, in apparent contradictions, similitude and not antinomy. Before I proceed, however, I must ask permission to reflect on certain aspects of your institutions as well as on our own, and I hope you will allow me to do so with the frankness and sincerity which is the privilege of true affection.

Establishment in a foreign land, either through conquest or by treaties more or less freely negotiated and accepted, is easy enough, considering the difference of power which exists, in every respect, between the two parties concerned. The mere fact that the newcomer has the will to colonize is in itself a measure of his strength and capacity. On the other hand, however brilliant may have been the civilization and effective the dominating power, in the

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past, of the colonized people, they were, at the time they gave up their autonomy, in a state of disintegration or anarchy such as to create a vital necessity for the very order which is brought or imposed upon them. Whether foreign domination is at once accepted by the whole population, or whether it has to fight its way through resistance of clans or even of provinces, has little bearing, other than material, on the position, because in the end order succeeds disorder. The modern history of Indo-China, which from that point of view is a very short chapter, and that of India, which has lasted for wellnigh two centuries, seems to me a sure illustration of that contention, and historians in the remote future will no doubt treat as mere episodes events which to us are tragedies.

The Indigenous Outlook

But this very order, and the unification it necessarily entails, gives further opportunity to the people to react on their past "grandeur" and to take stock of the force they represent as a nation, although they were totally incapable of acquiring it for themselves. This reaction, by the way, has not been sufficiently catered for by either of us. I mean, for instance, that we take too easily for granted that Oriental peoples appreciate modern amenities of life in the same manner and to the same degree as we do. As often as not they ignore or despise, or even oppose them. What is more important still, they may adopt them, and even materially benefit by them, and either believe they are a natural outcome, or that they are their elementary due, or even they would reach further if they were independent. This may be experienced fully in countries quite recently placed under our rule.

Having lived in Morocco immediately after we established our Protectorate, I am able to compare notes. Talks with old and young Moors are most enlightening. Those who are old enough to have had personal experience of the chaotic Maghzen administration own freely that the change is all for the better. But those who were young when the old regime crashed do not in the least realize that the change is ours. And as for the very young, who were born or brought up in our days, they are openly convinced that we have made matters worse instead of improving them. We

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do nothing practically to face them with the reality, and I understand that there is similar lack on your part. Indeed, two distinguished experts tell us that

"the tendency was to attribute all India's evils to English rule. The prevailing ignorance of Indian history counted much in this development. The textbooks in use a generation ago were very inadequate . . . while the Victorian complacency of their tone made the Indian readers all the more inclined, by a most natural reaction, to accept at face value the alternative account put forward from time to time of a great and glorious past blighted by the devastating rule of the English or by the plague of Western civilization which the English had introduced."*

One sees from this that present textbooks are better and more suitable. But how many are there who accept their facts, inferences and conclusions? Textbooks are not enough and real enlightenment can only be attained by patient and constant contacts, free talks and fair explanation, such as social intercourse, on all the scales of the ladder, can provide or afford.

Very few, otherwise, are those who can find out or imagine for themselves the reality that time and even oral tradition have hidden or distorted so completely. And rare also are those who are able to foresee that our order and authority are only obstacles against the domination of a few and the servitude of most. As yet they seem unable to comprehend that our withdrawal would mean dictatorial domination instead of democratic government, even if democratic institutions are not so fully or so generally developed and distributed as they are in the countries of those who dispense it.

This indeed needs a great deal of explanation, and patience and tact that have to be exercised are among the chief qualities that one must expect from those who have the perilous honour to look after our wards. We have reached our present stage at home, which is neither ideal nor perfect, after long evolution or harsh revolutions, and the question is doubly pertinent as to whether our wards have reached the stage to which our institutions are fitted and whether our Western institutions are in essence acceptable to Eastern populations.

* *A Short History of India*, by W. H. Moreland and Sir Atul Chatterjee. (*Longmans.*) 1936.

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I am not ready to answer these questions. What I may say is that on the one hand you, more than we, are calling more and more upon the people not only to take part in the administration of their country and, if to a lesser extent, in the shaping of their own constitution. We know, however, that the British public was long disinclined to make very great extensions of the elective principle in India; they realized, as we do, that this matter is delicate. On the other hand, if we, perhaps more than you, are fighting daily for our own constitutional standards, nevertheless we do it, so far at least, under some recognized rules and restraints which are those of the very organizations we are sometimes anxious to alter. But when such aspirations are hampered by insurmountable obstacles—such as are disclosed by an Indian leader urging his compatriots, "claiming equality with the *other* civilized nations, to aim first at equality between themselves"—or are hiding dictatorial ambitions, I do say that the necessity for umpires and advisers and even governors remains an urgent need.

British Policy

It is most difficult for a Frenchman, and probably for any but an Englishman, to discover the exact meaning and the minute bearing of your Imperial policy. When we hear of Dominion status, we are puzzled, but when we are confronted with the admission of India to membership of the League of Nations, we are amazed. Our logic receives a shock. If I may be permitted to go further, the idea of an Indian Dominion is to us very daring. If I am correctly informed, in the self-governing British Dominions the European population is paramount, with the possible exception of the Union of South Africa, where most of the natives are so backward that their numerical preponderance may less be taken into account. Even there, that majority is only four to one. In India the British are an infinitesimal minority, and you are there nearer our position in Indo-China although our population ratio is higher than yours in India. With our scanty knowledge of the working of your institutions, we wonder a little how in the end a non-British Dominion may fit in. Students of colonial affairs know, for instance, that there have been occasions on which immigration

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of Indians to British territories was apt to cause friction. This, of course, is a purely internal affair of your own, and if I venture to mention it, is simply because it has a direct bearing on the comparisons I am called upon to suggest.

Any treatise you may chance to open on an Imperial question will bring you, if it is British, to a chapter entitled "Constitution and Government." If French, the word "Government" suffices. This is in itself an explanation, or at least a clue, as I suppose one would meet with the same experience in studying French and British home conditions.

Asiatics, of whatever rank, who go abroad, and students in particular, quite naturally elect the Metropolis they depend upon as the first—and most often only—stage of their voyage. There they imbibe the very essence of current ideas. This is obvious.* True, life in their temporary surroundings may have helped to develop new aspirations, which they were keen to carry back for adoption.

Admission in English homes, good-fellowship in schools and universities, free intercourse everywhere, are some of the points which play a most important part in the life and evolution of your oversea Empire. Reaction on the change of attitude of some Englishmen when once the home life of the Asiatic is resumed, in thoroughly different surroundings, has been dwelt upon so often that it does not need any emphasis here.

A Consultative Council

I have said before that Cochin China is represented in the Paris Parliament. May I recall that the French electorate alone returns the member, who must be French. To no greater extent are the natives represented in the Superior Colonial Council† in Paris.

* I have often noted it under another form during the Great War. Infatuation for French or British military superiority, on the part of overseas officers, Americans included, was derived chiefly, if not solely, from the fact that they were attached to staffs of one or the other: I have never seen the reverse.

† It is now called Superior Overseas Council, so as to include Algeria and the two Protectorates of Tunis and Morocco.

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I have heard that body highly praised in England: "It may be considered, in some quarters, that some such consultative body might not be a disadvantage to the [British] Colonial Office." These wellwishers must have based their opinion on the study of its constitution and not of its activity: the meetings are not public. In fact it has hardly ever given any sign of its usefulness. That its godfathers meant well cannot be doubted. It nevertheless remains a consultative body which is not consulted and has no authority. Its very composition deprives it of any real action. True, this can be easily amended and the Superior Council might be one of the means, in keeping with our general conceptions, of bringing France and Indo-China closer together. The mere fact that the Council is universally consultative reduces its competence, but I will agree that a simple decree may entrust it with the particular study of each particular part of our Dominion, and another decree can bring natives to offer it very useful co-operation.

The old India Council (now, I am told, about to disappear) offers, to my mind—and yet I may be as far off the mark as were the British exegetes I have quoted—a much better scope for real representation of Indian interests at home. Indeed the idea has been often advanced that such a Council should be created in Paris for Indo-China, and the only reason I can offer for its remaining in limbo is that it is too specifically British to justify any tentative adaptation in Latin form.

Indian Federation

The very structure of the British Empire may have helped towards a federation of all elements constituting India. Your difficulty in achieving this, as I believe it to be your ultimate aim, must have been tremendous, and one of your ways of approaching such questions should be commended to Frenchmen. Whenever we have tried imitation it has, however, ended in caricature. I am referring to the appointment of Royal Commissions to enquire and report on specific questions. I remember having read in full at the time the whole report issued by the Simon Commission and I was very much impressed by the quality of the work done. Difficulties were immense, but they were all faced with the will

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thoroughly to understand them, in order that they might be overcome. This seems to have been achieved. The new constitution will soon be applied in two stages. The solemn appeal made to the people on these occasions must bear its fruits, for the common good of all. It is a piece of British statesmanship that must affect us.

I hope I have not utterly failed in my attempts to show the mobility—and the progress, I trust—of our Far Eastern institutions, achieved by prudent but deliberate stages. We have done it in our way, you have advanced in India and elsewhere in your own way. Whatever our preferences may be, and it has perhaps transpired that my admiration for yours is both ancient and sincere, let us remember that the soundness of a policy depends much more on the manner in which it is applied and the aim it has in view, than on the political concept from which it derives. There is no other common measure in overseas administration than the progress it brings to the territory involved. To appraise it in terms of our own would be unjust. Just as our home constitutions differ, our colonial systems vary. But where we must and do meet is in our indomitable will to prevent injustice which "entails great miseries and immense hardships on helpless peoples."

Exchange of Officers

I have often wondered if our common aims could not be better reached, to some extent, through actual interchange of the services directly concerned, in colonial administration, with the welfare and social progress of the people. Independent nations see no harm in harbouring in their midst Foreign Attachés of every description. True, they are, so to speak, on neutral ground, and under diplomatic privileges. Colonial administration does not offer such convenient conditions, but I have enough respect for human nature to hope that intercourse is possible without being regulated by public conventions and treaties. If my trust is justified—and experience would soon acquire the force of precedent—is it preposterous to foresee a French civil servant serving on the staff of a British Governor, whilst his opposite British number was attached to a French Government in a neighbouring colony?

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I realize fully that difficulties would be greater in exchanges between India and Indo-China than in most cases. When first I thought out a scheme of this kind, I had Africa in mind more than Asia—at least as a beginning—but Indo-China and the Malayan Peninsula, for instance, might be a good field in which to experiment.

I am merely putting this idea forward because I feel very strongly the necessity of improving on our respective methods whenever we can. We are trustees of enormous populations, and we have no right to ignore any attempts made on their behalf in similar circumstances over a political frontier, which should not be a barrier against people of the same race. We may have succeeded or we may have failed in our endeavours. The point to be retained is that results may or may not have been up to our expectations but that our good faith was never impaired. I therefore see no reason why the successful experiences of one should not be available to the other, nor that he could not be warned against avoidable failures.

The whole world is undergoing evolution, noticeable in many conflicts. Those between East and West or far and near are perhaps more spectacular, but are not more real. They vary in degree, not in essence. Through heartfelt comprehension we may hope that they will subside. And such comprehension can only be complete through interchange of views between those who may differ in their principles and even in their methods, but who serve, with the same spirit, the same eternal ideals.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, October 13, 1936, when a paper entitled "Administration in Indo-China with Indian Comparisons" was read by Monsieur C. A. Le Neveu. In the absence, owing to a severe chill, of the Countess of Bessborough, who telegraphed her regrets from her country seat, Dr. Drummond Shiels, M.C., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Lord Askwith, K.C.B., Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hubert Carr, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Edward Chamier, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Major-General Sir John Megaw, K.C.I.E., Sir Howard D'Egville, K.B.E., Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh, Lieut.-Colonel A. P. Heneage, D.S.O., M.P., Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., Monsieur Charbonnière (representing H.E. the French Ambassador), Madame Le Neveu, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. D. N. Bonarjee, Mrs. M. Barden, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. K. K. Lalkaka, Mr. D. Saurat, Mrs. Damry, Mr. Phirozshah Mehta, Mr. H. E. E. Acton, Mr. B. S. Townroe, Mrs. Woolner, Mr. T. E. Rogers, Capt. H. J. Inman, Mr. Leonard Matters, Mr. G. J. Ellis, Miss Ellis, Mrs. Percy Brown, Miss London, Mr. A. G. Morkill, Mrs. Marmaduke Pickthall, Mr. J. B. Churchill, Miss Gunter, Mr. R. A. Clinton-Thomas, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—I am sure that you will share my great disappointment that the Countess of Bessborough has not been able to be here this afternoon, and that you regret still more the cause of her absence.

You will wish, I know, to ask Mr. Brown to be good enough to send to her an expression of our sympathy and of our wishes for her speedy recovery. In the absence of the appointed chairman, I have been precipitately placed in the chair. It is only this afternoon that I was made aware of the great honour which was to be paid to me, and I feel, frankly, that there are many here who ought to have had precedence in such a great distinction.

I am glad, however, of the opportunity of being able to welcome M. Le Neveu, whom I have previously had the pleasure of meeting in his own country, and who is such a great authority on matters in which many of us are interested.

M. Le Neveu is exceptionally well qualified to deal with the subject on which he speaks today. After some years of active colonial administration he was appointed Director-General of the Union Coloniale in Paris. This body, although it is not an official body, has a great influence on French colonial administration, and it contains in its ranks men of great

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overseas experience. It has regular sectional meetings dealing with different parts of the Colonial Empire and with various subjects, and is of great assistance in many ways to the Central Government as well as to the local administrations.

There is also the fact, interesting to us and with a bearing on M. Le Neveu's mastery of English, that he was for some years in this country at the French Embassy. He got to know us very well then, and, I am afraid, discovered some of our weaknesses as well as, we hope, some of our better qualities. With the exquisite tact of his countrymen, I am sure he will deal very gently with that aspect of the subject.

I have great pleasure in asking M. Le Neveu to read us his paper. (Applause.)

M. C. A. Le Neveu then read his paper on " Administration in Indo-China with Indian Comparisons."

The Chairman : I am sure you have been greatly impressed with the very interesting and informative description of French colonial administrative machinery and methods which M. Le Neveu has given us.

As I said at the beginning, I took the chair at the earnest request of your good Secretary and my friend, Mr. Brown, and I was very happy to do so. But, unfortunately, I have to go on to another meeting, and, therefore, will not be able to stay till the end, and I am going to ask Sir Atul Chatterjee to take my place. Before I go, however, I might, perhaps, be permitted, as Chairman, to open the discussion.

I think you will agree that I did not exaggerate at the beginning in my anticipation of the tact and delicacy of the references by M. Le Neveu to British principles and methods. I confess that the differences between British and French practice do not seem to me to be so fundamental as is sometimes suggested. There are, of course, many variations in detail, but British methods themselves are so various and so lacking in logical arrangement that we can find in some colony or another a parallel to almost any other system. Even the French Colonial Privy Council, to which M. Le Neveu has referred, is very similar in form and function to the Executive Councils in many of our colonies.

I am glad that M. Le Neveu emphasized the fact that in the French colonial system they have a rigid separation between the executive and the judiciary. We used to have that general rule also, but, to my regret, in certain of our colonies in Africa we have made a sort of liaison between the judiciary and the executive, certainly as far as the native courts are concerned, with appeals to executive officers instead of to higher judicial authority. I have never approved of that, but there is a strong body of local opinion which believes it is desirable. It was very interesting to have the testimony of M. Le Neveu to the French method. As a matter of fact, the subject is of interest to this Association because, though in somewhat different form, it has caused a good deal of controversy in India.

With regard to direct colonial representation in the French Parliament, M. Le Neveu has naturally said a great deal, and he has suggested that it is

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a logical expression of a valued French tradition. No doubt it is, but even here it seems to me that the difference from the British system is more formal than substantial. The Deputies and Senators from the colonies are elected by a French electorate. The non-French Senators and Deputies are few in number, and a good many oversea territories are not represented at all. It is more of a gesture than a serious political factor!

Nevertheless, it is important for us to realize that it is a gesture which is of great significance and psychological value. In British policy and administration throughout our colonies and dependencies there tends to be a failure to realize the importance of the recognition of the prestige and status of other races. Good government alone does not satisfy! And there is no doubt that the French, by the fact that they have in their two Houses representatives—however few in number—of other races, of their African and Eastern peoples, have achieved something which satisfies a deep longing in these peoples. There is no question of the pride and satisfaction which even the limited membership affords, because it marks status and prestige. I have often felt that if we had learnt this lesson earlier in India our difficulties would have been less, because the Indian problem in the beginning was largely human and psychological, and only later became mainly a political one.

We are grateful to M. Le Neveu for his suggestion about the interchange of staff. The idea is a capital one. I was glad, also, that he emphasized what has always been traditional in British policy as well as in French, but which I am afraid in both cases has not always been so well implemented as we would have wished—that the colonies are not possessions to be exploited for the benefit of the metropolitan country; they are rather to be regarded as a great responsibility and a great trust. He very rightly emphasized our duty to those over whom we exercise authority, and the importance of our seeing that they are given every opportunity for development and for the bringing out of all that is best in them.

I hope I may be permitted once again to express my personal appreciation of the compliment of having presided at your meeting. The value of assemblies and collaborations of this kind between those responsible for colonial policy in the various countries is inestimable, and the East India Association has done a great national and international service in arranging this meeting.

Sir Atul Chatterjee then took the chair.

Monsieur Charbonnière: The French Ambassador has been prevented by a most imperative obligation from attending this meeting, but he has read with great interest the text of M. Le Neveu's lecture, and he has instructed me, while expressing all his regrets at not being here himself, to deliver a short message to you. The message from His Excellency is as follows:

"It is a pleasure to contribute to the Proceedings of the East India Association, not least because, while the main object of its discussions is the study of Indian problems as such, at times distinguished Continental specialists are invited to describe to the Association the system of government in Asiatic countries under European control, for purpose of comparison. Thus some two years ago a Dutchman well conversant with the colonial problems of Holland delivered an address to the Associations of the Netherlands Indies,

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and the then Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare, was in the chair. Today we are honoured by the presence in the chair of Dr. Drummond Shiels, formerly Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, who has shown constant interest in and support of the most cordial British and French relations.

"The lecture delivered by M. Le Neveu is a very timely contribution to the highly important collaboration of Great Britain and France in all the international problems. Being both great colonial Powers, they have all over the world responsibilities which require between themselves a permanent understanding. M. Le Neveu has clearly outlined the position of France in Indo-China as compared with the formidable task of Great Britain in India. He has shown how much simpler are our undertakings in Indo-China. In that colony France has the privilege of dealing with a population which to a great extent offers some similarity with the population of France itself. Many artisans, many artists, many peasants; religious or racial problems, if any, are in Indo-China of little importance.

"The national temperament has always incited our fellow-countrymen to start every colonial enterprise by a careful survey of the agricultural possibilities. In Indo-China rice plays the same part as wheat and wine in France, and behind the various measures and regulations issued by the different official and administrative bodies, which M. Le Neveu enumerated and explained, you will find everywhere and in every occasion an increasing preoccupation with the desirability and possibilities of expansion of agriculture, and specially an interest in small holdings and the marketing conditions.

"Although the attempt to make use in distant countries of the principles of our French legislation and administration may look paradoxical, we are proud to say that our colonial Governors have always shown an exceptional talent in adapting this European and mostly Latin interpretation of human law to native collectivites. This may be due to the fact that nowhere in our Colonial Empire have we met with political organizations that could be compared with those which you have found in India.

"Great Britain has had to solve many more problems and of a far greater diversity than ourselves, and we appreciate the tribute paid to our colonial methods by many of your statesmen and colonial officers. But it may be said that where French and British colonies have common frontiers the natives have not in any known case shown their preference for the methods of the one or the other administration by leaving one zone to settle in the other. This state of affairs constitutes a kind of referendum, which shows that two different colonial organizations may prove equally suitable to natives."

The CHAIRMAN: May I say that, although we regret very much the unavoidable absence of His Excellency the French Ambassador, I think all of us will agree that we are most grateful to him for sending us such an instructive and at the same time interesting message? (Applause.)

Mr. C. A. KINCAID: I hope I may be privileged to express again our appreciation of the lecture that we have heard. I do not think that there is any

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Englishman, at any rate none of my acquaintance, who in similar circumstances could surpass that lecture either in manner or in matter. (Applause.)

The lecturer said that there were no points upon which English and French administration differed more widely than in the matter of the judiciary. That is perfectly true between France and England, but not quite true between France and India.

In England far too much of the judicial work is centralized in London. In India our system approaches much more closely to the French system. As soon as I went to France I poked about and found how the French ran their law courts. I was delighted to find that the system of civil jurisdiction was almost identical with that in India. Suppose in India a provincial has a quarrel and wishes to file a suit. He goes to the sub-court in his country town. There is an appeal on fact and law to the district judge's court, and a second appeal on law only to the High Court. I found exactly the same thing in Cherbourg.

There is one thing still more remarkable. One of the first things I did when I went to Cherbourg was to buy a copy of the *Code Pénal*. Of course, I began to read it with a sense of superiority. The more I read it, the more astonished I was with its familiarity. I seemed to have read it all before. So I had. It was the same.

Sir George Trevelyan, in his biography of Macaulay, gives the reader the impression that when Macaulay could not make anything of the English findings in Bombay and Calcutta, he said : "Well, boys, leave it to me." He went off by himself, drafted a code, and produced it like a conjurer produces a rabbit out of a top-hat. He was not such a fool. In 1809 a body of eminent jurists, under the guidance of Napoleon himself, had produced the *Code Pénal*, and Macaulay translated it. In his Report he mentions, if somewhat grudgingly, his obligations to the *Code Pénal*.

Also the Criminal Procedure Code, so far as the sections relating to the powers of the police and magistracy, are drawn from the Code de Procédure Criminelle. Neither in France nor in India would the Home Secretary find the same difficulty that he finds at present about stopping processions in the East End.

So far I have dwelt upon the similarities. It is only fair that I should speak of one very grave dissimilarity, and that is the question of roads. It has been my good fortune to go over much of French North Africa, including Morocco. Morocco is one of the wonders of the world. The French only occupied it during the Great War, and now you go over the most beautiful roads right into the heart of the Atlas Mountains, where only a few years ago there was some of the most desperate fighting in history.

When I saw this I thought of the poor roads in India, and felt very sad. In my own province of Sind there does not exist one single road. In Gujarat it is not much better. In fact, you can usually tell when you are coming to British India because the road becomes like a cart track.

The lecturer said it would be a good thing if we could exchange officers. As a matter of fact, I believe Marshal Lyautey, the greatest European of the twentieth century, did not disdain to go to India and spend six months there that he might get some information as to our methods. If only our Viceroys

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would spend six weeks in French Morocco, I think we would hear very much less of constitution-making and a great deal more of road-making. The learned lecturer has some doubts as to the advisability of the reforms we are bringing in. I can assure him that I share those doubts to the full. But there is this point: that it is almost impossible for an Englishman to guess how certain events will react with an Indian.

During the Great War the Government expected us all to join the Imperial Defence Force, and we all drilled, and felt that India was absolutely safe in our hands. One day an Indian friend of mine, about the same age as myself (forty-five or so), came to see me. I said, "What do you think of our drilling?" expecting a most flattering reply. He said: "Sir, you will excuse me, but I must tell you this, that we all think England must be in a very bad way to drag you out of your homes and drill all you octogenarians." (Laughter.)

Lord Askwith: I have listened with the greatest interest to M. Le Neveu's lecture. I have not been in Indo-China, and only travelled through India many years ago, but in 1934 I went as Chairman of a delegation of the Empire Parliamentary Association to a conference, convened by M. Doumergue, with a view to the consideration of various colonial questions, particularly the different methods of dealing with the tenure of land by different nations in their colonies or dominions, and with the extreme views held by various sections of peoples in the world. I could have wished that, as the French, the Dutch, and the Belgians were so strongly represented, and Portugal also sent a delegation, that Great Britain had had a larger delegation and more interest taken in it. If a similar conference takes place in London, which I understand is likely, I hope that the East India Association will be able to assist in the debates that may take place.

M. Le Neveu has called attention to many points. I would only mention two, and they are of considerable importance. He has mentioned how the different changes that have taken place have impressed different generations, and that a younger generation has a different view in the course of time. I think he is perfectly right.

Further than that, as my second point, I think it has become more true at a time when the East is rapidly changing. All of us must be aware of the changes that have taken place during the last few years. Even a child can recognize that in pictures, when he sees Turks without their fezes and their ladies without their yashmaks. So it is, as far as I have read, in India, in Indo-China, in China itself, and, of course, in Japan, in matters far beyond superficial dress.

What does that mean? It means that we may have to adapt things very rapidly to changes that take place in the world, and "the moan of doves in immemorial elms" may cease to apply. It is no longer possible to think that in any of these countries the old opinion of Englishmen as to the unchanging East can continue in an unmodified form.

Therefore the idea of more interchange of opinion, which M. Le Neveu has outlined, is, I think, a very valuable suggestion, and, if possible, might well be developed.

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Mr. Lalkaka: It was very interesting indeed to hear so much logic and reason embodied in this paper. What surprises me is that it was not possible for such a paper from a great savant and administrator of another nation to be read before this Society when so many papers, weighted with pious hopes and good intentions, were read in the last year or two when we were discussing that very debatable question of the India Bill, now the India Act of 1935.

All I need say is that I am entirely in agreement with M. Le Neveu's suggestion to make it possible for responsible people from this country to go to the French colonies and see how things were done there and to study the prevailing state of their affairs. That would really make a world of difference. But more than to the district officer, who has, after all, got to carry out a given policy, such an object lesson would be to the purpose for our parliamentarians—those Pagett M.P.s—who in about November go out for three months to India and then write about "Asian solar myths."

M. Le Neveu told us how the French build up all these constitutions and big policies, taking only one step at a time. But we want to get the whole thing in one leap, one mouthful. We have not yet, for instance, tried out Provincial Autonomy when we are talking of Federation. These, I submit, are a few points which should make us pause and think. It may even cause us to question the wisdom of some of our doctrinaire idealists who in purple tones will insist on facts being adjusted to their theories instead of taking the trouble to correlate irrefragable facts and then evolve theories out of them.

And, finally, a word about this "fast-changing East." Lord Askwith endeavoured to give instances of the changing East. But are not the instances he gave an example, after all, of superficial changes and not anything fundamental which would strike at the very roots? My own domicile of over a quarter of a century in India tells me that things that matter have hardly changed in the East. I do ask you to remember that what does matter to an Asiatic people is that they should be assured of security of life and property, of peace and justice, of cheap food and clothing, and, above all, of their being able to go about their avocations quietly without let or hindrance.

The Chairman: It is my very pleasant duty, on behalf of you all as well as of myself, to tender to our lecturer our grateful thanks for the trouble he has taken not only in preparing such an excellent paper, but in coming over to London to read it to us. (Applause.) I may say that as an Indian I have felt the very greatest interest in all that he has had to say. It would take me a very long time to explain all the points which have arisen in my mind. I wish I could get M. Le Neveu for a couple of hours to myself, and I would ply him with a number of questions.

I have only one or two points which I should like to make. There is first this big question of the representation of the French colonial possessions in the East in the Metropolitan parliament in Paris. Our Chairman, Dr. Drummond Shiels, thought that was a very useful thing from the point of view of gesture. I am myself rather doubtful, at least nowadays, of any such gesture, because what we want from the Indian point of view is to be able to manage our own affairs first. I do not think Indians now would be particularly keen

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on getting accommodation for a very small number of representatives from India, either in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords.

It is possible that eventually the constitution of the British Empire might need an Imperial Parliament, different from a Parliament for Great Britain and Northern Ireland. In that case certainly we shall stake out a large claim.

On the question of the interchange of staff also I have grave doubts as to whether it would be of any great advantage. Already I think a very large number of Englishmen, especially Englishmen who rise to high positions in the Colonial Empire or in India, get a fair idea of French and other colonial systems by visits and by study of books and literature. Simply going to a country for three, four, or six months does not really enable one to study adequately all the extremely difficult and intricate questions which give rise to differences in administrative policies.

There was one point on which I should like to have had further information from M. Le Neveu; that was with regard to law. So far as I could understand from the paper, the law administered in French Indo-China is for French people French law, and for the Indo-Chinese natives the law which is their own customary law. I am not sure if that is the position.

As regards India, Mr. Kincaid has referred to Macaulay's Penal Code. It is quite clear that the Indian Penal Code is not the same as the old Indian Criminal Law, and I am very glad that Mr. Kincaid has drawn attention to the fact that an entirely new system of penal law was introduced into India by the British administration. But there is also the further fact that for civil actions, for personal law apart from the laws of contract or evidence, the old Indian laws have been more or less crystallized and are still applied by British-Indian judges both in India and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. We have very grave doubts whether a more progressive system of law would not be desirable at this stage in regard to personal law.

There have been references in the discussion to the question how far the new policy in India is desirable or not. I listened with very great interest to what Lord Askwith had to say on this subject. I should just like to say that even in the West the system of government today is not the same as it was one or two hundred years ago. It is all a question of psychology. In Europe, at least until democracy came to Europe fifty or sixty years ago, you had government only by a very small minority of the population. A psychological change has come about, and now it is government by the whole people for the entire people. It may be that where there are dictators the position is different. I think it is only natural that in the East as well as in the West the people should want to govern themselves, whatever might be the details of the system. Administrative efficiency may not be as good as when they are governed by experts, amongst whom I used to count myself one.

I should again like to thank M. Le Neveu for the brilliant lecture he has given us, and I think we would all agree that we were very fortunate in having Dr. Drummond Shiels as our Chairman, for the remarks that he made before going away were extremely illuminating.

M. Le Neveu : I wish to thank you heartily for the very great honour you have done me and for the very cordial reception you have afforded me this

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afternoon. I also wish to thank you for the very nice things which you have said about me. Unfortunately, I see here a few old friends who, if they were to speak, would probably say they are not true.

I am afraid it is too late now to reply to all the questions which were raised. It will give me great pleasure, moreover, to answer them in writing later if the speakers or any other so desire. But there are two points on which I would like to say just a word. One is the application of French law in Indo-China. It is applicable to all in the French courts. If there is discrimination, it is because we have preserved, if sometimes in adjusted and amended forms, the law of the country whenever we found it was suitable and equitable, and that European importation could not be easily adapted to Oriental ideas or traditions. In such cases our chief duty has been to supervise the administration of justice in order to make sure, to the best of our ability, that it is equitably applied to all.*

The other point bears on exchange of personnel. I must say I was not contemplating mere courtesy visits of short duration. On the contrary, my ambition is to see a Civil Servant serve the whole of his *séjour*—I think you say "tour"—with the staff in the foreign colony the administrative methods of which he is asked to study. For instance, a French and a British district officer both return from leave; the French receives his appointment to a British post and *vice versa*. In point of fact, my ambition is so great that I would like to see this sort of colonial attaché serve his next "tour" with his original service, where he could see for himself how foreign methods can or cannot be applied or adapted, and return, after his normal leave, to the foreign colonial staff in order definitely to compare notes. But during his absence he should be replaced by one of his colleagues, so as to render the liaison permanent. I know there are difficulties. I do not think they are insurmountable.

The Chairman has kindly expressed the desire of getting me all to himself for a couple of hours. There is no need to say that I would be delighted to have that conversation, which would greatly enlighten me. I might, perhaps, put it another way. If you think that a little good may have been done by my short visit here and by my very modest attempts at telling you about things in Indo-China, I am sure a great deal of good would be done if you, Sir Atul, would come to Paris and tell us of India. This would carry the full weight attached, not only to your position and to your personality, but also to all which we in France know you represent. We would do our best to return the hearty welcome I have received here, although I feel I was not entitled to it. I can assure you that our welcome, being far more merited, would be extended to you and any of your friends to our full capacity.

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* I must admit that in saying "the contrast between French and British systems is perhaps nowhere so fundamental as in judicial procedure" I was forgetting for the time I was speaking of Indo-China and of India. I had in mind England and France, where it remains, I think, obvious. The remarks of Mr. Kincaid, with whom I fully concur, are nevertheless quite pertinent.

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INDIAN WOMEN'S EDUCATION

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Bedford College, Regent's Park (by the kind hospitality of Miss Jebb, the Principal), on Thursday, October 22, 1936, to consider the question of women's education.

Mr. R. A. BUTLER, M.P., Under Secretary for India, was in the Chair, and said: I was very pleased when I received the invitation of the East India Association to take the Chair at this meeting, and I was all the more thrilled, being a student of history, when I arrived at the College and was directed to the meeting of the East India Company!

I have been asked by the organizers of this meeting to say a few words to start with, so please do not think that I am taking a wrong position as Chairman in making a speech because I have been particularly asked to do so. The observations I should like to make relate first of all to the Central Provinces, with which I have been rather closely connected as my father was for nearly nine years the Governor previous to Sir Hyde Gowan. I am sure we are very glad to welcome Lady Gowan here this afternoon.

I learnt as the son of my father to take a great pride in the Central Provinces Government, and to regard the Central Provinces as the centre of India, and it will always remain so to me, the centre of India's communications, the centre of India, as I think, in the success which has been made of the constitutional experiment in that Province under dyarchy, and I hope as we shall see as a result of this meeting this afternoon the leader and therefore the centre of India in the women's movement.

That, I suppose, is a bold and a prejudiced claim, but, as you will see from the three facts which I have adduced to support my theory, there is some basis for believing that I am not being too optimistic in claiming the Central Provinces as being really central in India's present and a really great centre in India's future. When we are talking of the Central Provinces we should think particularly of those who are doing the work for women's education which we are here to consider this afternoon.

When I was on the Franchise Committee I had the pleasure of meeting Miss Rangarao, who has played such a part in education and in this college in particular at Nagpur. She is the sister of Mrs. Subbarayan, whom we all remember as having done so much on the Round Table Conference, and, like her sister, I believe Miss Rangarao is very up to date. You will remember that Mrs. Subbarayan had a reputation for being very up to date. She flew to and from India, was one of the first to do so, and took a great part not only in the women's movement but in the whole of the constitutional work in which we were engaged for several years.

I should like to congratulate Miss Rangarao on the initiative she has shown in establishing the college at Nagpur, about which we shall hear more from Lady Gowan; and I should like to thank her as one who has had experience of her lively wit in travelling India occasionally in her com-

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pany on the Franchise Committee. I hope that her work will be crowned with success and followed by many other successful efforts of the same sort in India.

Before I leave the Central Provinces may I make one or two observations about women's education? It seems to me that the education of girls in India has a great contribution to make to the cause of education as a whole; secondly, to their own development; and, thirdly, to the whole future of India, and to the cause of India's constitutional development in general. Let me consider those three aspects of the subject.

It seems to me that already the experience gained in the education of girls in India has brought us to certain tentative conclusions, one of which I hope Lady Hartog will mention when she speaks later this afternoon, because this point I have borrowed from previous experience of her great knowledge of this subject, and that is that co-education has hitherto been left to play much too large a part in girls' education in India. I have here some extracts of previous views she has stated as regards co-education in the primary, the secondary and the University stage, and it seems to me from reading these views that she is perfectly right.

For instance, here is one phrase: "There is a crying need for women's colleges in the more conservative provinces, and where they go to colleges for men, a crying need for women's hostels if the women are to have the full advantage of college life."

We are fortunate to proceed from the general phrase, which I have just quoted, to the particular this afternoon in that we are going to consider among other matters in the question of women's education a particular college at Nagpur.

It has always seemed to me that the women's colleges have an opportunity of really contributing a great deal to the cause of education. They can illustrate the value of mixing together, of breaking down some of the old caste barriers, and of harmonizing as far as possible, without any intent to prejudice the religious beliefs of any particular person attending that college, the general attitude towards religion, which as we know is very important in India.

When I come to examine the hard facts of the administration of education in India and take the Central Provinces, I am glad to see that there is at last a tendency to spend more upon the education of girls. For instance, in the Central Provinces—which was rather attacked in a very comprehensive paper, at which I had the honour of taking the chair, given by Lady Hartog about a year ago—I notice in the latest statistics the Central Provinces have improved and that now 10·2 per cent. of their expenditure is on girls' education, which is double what it was in 1927. (Applause.) That is a very definite improvement, and I hope you will convey our very respectful congratulations to His Excellency the Governor when you return, Lady Gowan.

There is one other encouraging statistic which was worked out for me, and that is that in 1934 institutions for the education of girls increased by 760 in India as a whole. That is three times as much as the increase in 1933. That, I think, is another remarkable figure, showing the improvement in the number of institutions for girls' education.

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But there is one rather serious figure, and that is that there is a need for increased enrolment of more women teachers under training. There is a shortage of trainees for the profession of teaching, and a shortage of institutions in which the women teachers can be trained. So I am not giving you an entirely optimistic set of figures. I am showing you that there are certain facts which do need improvement. But I have derived a certain satisfaction myself from the fact that there has been an increased expenditure and an increased number of institutions set up for the education of girls in India.

When I come to look at the third head of my remarks, that is the contribution that women will make to their own advancement by the development of education, I am rather interested in the part that vocational education will play in the future of India. Two distinguished educational experts have just left for India, Mr. Abbott and Mr. Wood, and I am sure we wish them well in their study of the vocational aspect of education and hope that they will bring within the scope of their enquiry a study of the vocational needs of girls as well as boys. I should like to take this opportunity of wishing those two distinguished educational experts well in their enquiry in India and thanking them for undertaking the very important work which they are undertaking.

When I come to consider education with regard to girls, I must remember that one of their most important vocations is to be a good wife and mother, and I trust that in the excellent work which this college does, that that most important of all vocations will be remembered, and that women will be fitted to take their part as much or even more in family life as they are in the life of India as a whole. But let me leave the family unit to go to the larger unit of India. I think when we consider India as a nation, we are not always quite proud enough of our achievement and of the importance of India within the orbit of the Empire. When we think of her great culture and great traditions, which we have done our best to encourage, but which she herself is on the sill of developing to an even greater extent than we have been able to do, we must gain a great satisfaction from the thought that the whole of this culture can be doubled and even trebled if we consider the immense weightage which the adhesion of women to these matters can give. I am ready to rate them at two to one if the women will pull their part, and perhaps that will be more satisfactory than some of those unfortunate ratios which we have tried to work out over the past few years. The contribution of India to the world in culture will be immensely increased if the women play their part.

I have been inspired by the work of the Poona Seva Sadan, which has sent out over the last twenty-five years several hundreds of women workers in the cause of social service, and when I think of the work that women can do in the social future of India, I must say I am really inspired, because here we have coinciding two great movements—the growth of the women's movement and the growth of the need for social betterment in India. It is peculiarly fortunate that both these great drives can occur together and can help each other.

I therefore am particularly interested to notice the Viceroy's present drive for the improvement of health and sanitation in the Indian villages, and

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to note what the Indian Village Welfare Association has said about the part that the Universities and the women in the Universities could play in courses of social study and public administration.

You will see from the number of points upon which I have touched that there is a vast field for the women of India at the present moment. There is a vast field for which they can work as they gradually increase their emancipation and take more part in the life of India as a whole, a vast field ranging from the general word culture down to the particular need for social improvement in the Indian village.

I can only say that they will fit themselves more and more for this task to the extent that they can be educated from their earliest days, and I think we are particularly fortunate to have here Lady Gowan to tell us a little more of this college at Nagpur, to tell us her impressions of its administration and opportunities. In introducing her, I would remind you that her husband is the present distinguished Governor of the Central Provinces, and that both he and she are doing their utmost to bring to a reality the theory I put forward at the opening of my remarks, that the Central Provinces is in fact the centre of India.

Lady Gowan: I feel I am here on false pretences as a speaker. Luckily for me it is not the duty of a Governor's wife to speak. Governors can do all the talking necessary, and their wives need only sit by with an admiring smile.

I have two very good reasons for talking to you this afternoon. One is that I do know about the college in Nagpur. I am very keen on it and on the advancement of women's education in India, especially in my husband's Province. The other one is that I feel those of us who have had the happiness of a college life do owe a very deep debt of gratitude, which we must pay wherever we feel we can help in the very least. We cannot let anything interfere with an attempt to pay that debt of gratitude in the way of helping any young and struggling institution in the way of a women's college in any other part of the world.

Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch said that his idea of the benefit one got from a University education was that one was trained to recognize and value the best when you came across it; and that is what one wants to help the women of India do. One wants to give them a sense of values, to make them see that there is something bigger than caste and creed and all these political intrigues and race prejudices that are making so much trouble at present; to realize that if they can be good wives and good mothers and fitter helpmates for their husbands, who are going through a very difficult stage in their history at present, we shall be doing something to help international affairs.

Women in the Central Provinces have been able for many years now to go to the men's colleges and take their degrees there. But there is a certain feeling in the community that co-education is not the right form of education for India. India is perhaps not ready for it now. The women have always lived sheltered lives. You will hear from Sir George Anderson and Lady Hartog later that there are many women's colleges in other parts of

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India. Madras has ten or twelve, but there was no college in the whole of the Central Provinces nor in Central India. Miss Rangarao was educated in Madras, and in a way came up to Nagpur almost by accident. There had been a sort of college started about six years ago in Nagpur, but it was not started on quite the right lines. The college got rather swept up into a wave of political affairs and led a very precarious existence for about three years. Then the lady who started it realized that there would have to be a good deal of re-organization done, and she persuaded Miss Rangarao to come up and undertake the work.

I do not think anybody with less pluck and determination could ever have got started. From the beginning Miss Rangarao had a most difficult task. There was political feeling against her. She had no money at all. Looking back on it now, one does not quite understand how she ever stuck to it at all. Nobody would promise her any money, and it was only through the generosity of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trustees that she was able to start at all. I think it was through her importunity that she finally got a donation of about Rs. 5,000.

She started with sixteen pupils and then we began a vicious circle. She was trying not to persuade me, but they invited me to become President of the governing body. My husband's Government said I could not accept. After a time she got a number of local subscriptions, but you must remember that the Central Provinces is not a rich Province. There are very few members of the population who have the money to spare. But she did get a certain amount of money, and two years ago I was allowed to accept the invitation to become the President of the governing body. Last year the Government were able to secure for us a grant of Rs. 6,500.

We are now in the third academic year, and the fact that the numbers have risen from sixteen to over forty is very encouraging. It is a little difficult to give you exact numbers, because the students are not very particular about whether they will come, and if there is a birth, marriage or death in the family, they very often stay away for a term.

Perhaps you think the college ought to be self-supporting, but when I tell you that the fees paid by the students are so small that £25 a year will cover all board and tuition, and even leave a small margin to buy books, you will realize that there is nothing left over to help with the salaries of staff and other necessities.

While my husband has been at home this summer on leave, the officiating Governor, Mr. Raghavendra Rao, has made a special and personal appeal on behalf of the college, and I hear he has raised half a lakh of rupees; but we feel that this must go towards a building fund, as the present quarters of the college—just an ordinary bungalow—are most inadequate, and I honestly do not know how Miss Rangarao managed to keep her students well and happy during the early weeks of this term, when the monsoon rains and winds were still raging, and the increased numbers must have made everything most difficult.

All castes and creeds are already represented in the college, and one great success is that they all eat and play together. Miss Rangarao and her resident staff take their meals with the students, and enter into all their

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games and amusements; and those of you who know India will realize what great tact and self-control are needed when you have Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, and Indian Christians in such close proximity.

We offer tuition in almost every branch of education, and you may be amused to hear that in reply to an advertisement for a Professor of Home Science this year we had one *male* applicant.

We specially want to concentrate on everything that will fit the women of India to be more suitable wives and helpmates to their husbands, and better mothers to the coming generation; and also to make them realize how they can best help their country to rid itself of its own social evils and to take its proper part in international affairs.

Lady Abdul Qadir: I am sure we are indebted very much to Lady Gowan for the very interesting account she has given us of the progress made by the Central College for Women at Nagpur. It appears that it has a zealous and devoted worker in its Principal, Miss Rangarao, who is assisted by other teachers actuated by the same spirit as herself, and they have the good fortune of having in Lady Gowan a warm supporter of their college. Her deep sympathy with the cause of higher education for girls in India is shown by the fact that she has not forgotten it even during the short period of well-earned rest which she and her husband, H.E. the Governor, have had in England.

It gives me great pleasure indeed to support the appeal made by Lady Gowan to enlist your sympathy and interest in the work that is being carried on in Nagpur in spite of the lack of adequate finances. I have never had an opportunity of visiting the Central Provinces, and I cannot claim any first-hand knowledge about that part of India: but I can sympathize with what has been said, because the problem of the education of women is the same all over India and presents a remarkable similarity of feature. As you all know, the education of girls has been neglected in the greater part of India for a long time, and even now it is not receiving as much attention as it should. It is gratifying, however, that a tendency is observable all round to lay stress on it, but the pace of progress of education of women varies in different Provinces.

In the Punjab—which is the Province with which I am familiar—the education of girls has been advancing rapidly every year. We have two first-grade colleges for women, and one teaching up to the intermediate standard. One of the colleges is the Lahore College for Women, and is a Government institution. The number of girls in it is about 150. The other is the Kinnaird College, which is a mission college with about the same number of pupils. The most popular and eagerly sought after institution, however, is the Queen Mary's College, which was established in memory of the visit of Her Majesty the Queen as a school for girls belonging to the better class Indian families. It is now a large residential institution, and has a fine building with a beautiful garden around it. It has recently added intermediate classes to the High School.

Those colleges are no longer sufficient to meet the growing demands, and students have to be refused every year. In addition there are also some

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girls who attend men's colleges, especially colleges for professional studies such as law and medicine, because there are no separate colleges for women for law and medicine. Though the progress made in the Punjab in recent years is very encouraging, we wish for a greater advance still, and feel that women's education is not receiving enough financial help from the authorities and the public.

I may add that in trying to improve the education of women in all Provinces, we want not only to increase the number of schools, colleges, and pupils, but the nature and quality of the instruction imparted, which should be suited to the special needs of girls and must include a knowledge of domestic science, household economy, hygiene, and public health.

I may be permitted to refer again to the Central College at Nagpur, for if some friends in this country would help this institution, they would be not only helping women's education, but would be strengthening the bonds of friendship between the two countries.

Sir George Anderson: I much regret that, for some reason or another, I have seen perhaps less of education in the Central Provinces than elsewhere in India; and I have never even seen the College for Women in Nagpur. I shall therefore confine myself to a few general observations on women's education in India.

It would be an impertinence for me to dilate on the importance of girls' education before an audience such as this, but I would first hazard a few remarks on the necessity of its development in the interest of education as a whole. We all realize the importance of home influence in education, and that the influence of the mother is paramount in the home; but, unfortunately, the influence of the mother and therefore of the home is often apathetic, and even hostile, to education in India. In consequence, children often lead dual lives. They spend half of each day engrossed in school studies and activities, but the remainder of the day is spent in an atmosphere which is often hostile to those studies. I once examined the figures and arrived at the conclusion that, on an average, sixty-nine educated men have to compete for the hand of each educated woman! This unseemly strife among the men should be eliminated.

There is also another aspect to which I would refer, the vital importance of promoting literacy in India, which presents great difficulties; but these difficulties are further increased by the fact that only as rare exceptions do women take part in the teaching of boys in primary schools. I wonder what English educationists would say if the edict were to go forth that women should no longer teach in primary schools; but this is a disability from which education in India suffers.

Educational development in India also suffers from the practice of segregation. Some years ago Mr. G. E. Fawcus, Director of Public Instruction, Bihar, deplored the tendency to maintain in each village five schools where one would suffice; a board school for boys; a *maktab* for Muslims; a *pathshala* for Hindus; a separate school for the depressed classes, and a school for girls.

One of the most pleasing of recent developments is the changed attitude

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towards the depressed classes. In place of the separate schools for these children, which merely crystallize the stigma of inferiority, there is a steadily growing desire that the depressed classes should be educated *pari passu* with other children. It may be that they still do not receive the welcome to which they are entitled, but reports from all Provinces indicate this old-time prejudice is fast giving way to tolerance.

I wish that I could give a similarly optimistic account of the Communal Schools. In the Punjab, owing to the sagacity of the late Sir Fazl-i-Husain, Muslims are sending their children more and more to the publicly managed schools as the primary stage, but in Bengal 750,000 Muslim pupils still attend *maktabs*, which make but little contribution towards the removal of illiteracy. And again, in the secondary stage (in which sphere the Punjab is far from immaculate), it cannot be right that children should spend the impressionable years of youth in the harrowing atmosphere of a communal school. It is on these and on other grounds that I welcome the College for Women at Nagpur.

Turning to the girls, it has always been a mystery to me why little girls should not, as in other countries, accompany their little brothers to school. In point of fact, the ideals of co-education are fast gaining ground. Nearly forty per cent. of the girls under instruction are now enrolled in co-educational schools; and the poorer Provinces, such as Bihar and the Central Provinces, are being driven by the fianancial shortage to realize that by far the most effective means of developing girls' primary education lies in the direction of co-education. But co-education should not be limited to the pupils; it should be extended to the staffs, and girls should no longer be admitted only on sufferance. I therefore agree with the Chairman that the extension and improvement of training facilities for girls is perhaps the most urgent educational necessity of to-day. It will be of little use, however, to extend these facilities in the towns, because it would be hazardous to expect girls thus trained to seek employment in the uncongenial and perhaps unsafe environment of an Indian village. Training facilities should therefore be located in rural areas; and vernacular middle schools should provide for their recruitment.

And now for a few figures, though Lady Hartog (whose address earlier in the year was of such great value) will doubtless have much to say on the subject. There has been great quantitative figures as the number of girls at school increased from 1,230,000 in 1917 to 2,492,000 fifteen years later; but there is still only one girl to every four boys at school. In her address Lady Hartog derived consolation from the fact that, whereas in 1932-3 the enrolment of boys decreased by 25,000, that of girls increased by 112,000; she therefore deduced that the disproportion between the sexes was at last being rectified, though slowly. Unfortunately, the figures that Lady Hartog quoted now appear to represent a temporary slump in boys' education rather than a boom in girls' education, as the figures of the subsequent year show an increase of 170,000 boys against one of only 145,000 girls. There are not many signs of a rectification of the serious disproportion between the sexes.

In finance the position is also depressing. The Hartog Committee, of

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which I had the privilege to be a member, recommended that "In the interests of the advance of Indian education as a whole, priority should now be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion." After considerable experience of commissions and committees I have learned at any rate to avoid optimism that their proposals will be put into operation, but I am yet disappointed that the recommendation of the Hartog Committee has received so little support. Recent figures show that the total expenditure on girls' education is still only Rs. 3½ crores as against Rs. 22½ crores on boys' education. The fact that the latter figure includes expenditure on girls reading in boys' schools does not materially reduce the sad disproportion between the sexes. There are, however, signs of a changed attitude towards the girls. As Lady Hartog stated in her previous address, Madras has set "the shining example" of spending more additional money on the girls than on the boys.

In spite of many disappointments, however, the position of girls' education is rapidly improving, especially in the improved attitude of the people themselves, and in the devoted activities of the women's associations. Girls are not only coming to school in larger numbers, but, far more important, they tend to stay longer at school, and thereby to reap greater benefit from their schooling. The examination figures are striking. The number of successful candidates for matriculation advanced from 1,029 in 1927 to 2,188 in 1932; and, still more remarkable, to 3,125 two years later. Similarly, the number of successful candidates in the degree examinations advanced from 130 in 1927 to 226 in 1932; and again, even more remarkable, to 383 in 1934.

This rapid and pleasing increase, however, gives serious cause for thought regarding the future of the promising little women's colleges in India. Will this rapid increase result in these becoming feeble replicas of the huge men's colleges with all their defects and limitations? The Central Advisory Board, at its first meeting last December, considered the momentous question of school reconstruction and unemployment. They realized that schools are of too uniform a pattern, and that they are dominated by urban and by university requirements. They were disturbed by the fact that large numbers of pupils prolong unduly their purely literary studies and thereby become averse from practical occupations and training. It becomes necessary, therefore, to release the schools from university entanglements and the pupils from the lure of matriculation. The period of school education should therefore be divided into separate stages, each with its own objective; and, at the end of appropriate stages, pupils should be diverted to practical occupations and training.

How, then, can these new principles be applied to girls' education. The happy news has just reached me, Lady Gowan, that the Government of India have decided to place this matter before the Central Advisory Board, that a Committee has been appointed to prepare the ground and that Miss Rangarao is a member of the Committee. I regret, however, Lady Gowan, that I was unable to give a more responsive reply to your letters, but the Government of India are unfortunately precluded from giving financial help to provincial educational institutions. Though I am wholeheartedly in

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favour of recent political advance, I none the less deplore the divorce of the Central Government from participation in education. A Government which is not concerned with education is in grave danger of stultifying itself.

Lady HARTOG: I am glad that Sir George with his unrivalled knowledge and experience has managed to see some gleams of sunshine in the sky. One thing he did not tell us was that, if things are looking up a bit, it is very largely owing to his work since he became Educational Commissioner. I do not think there is any report with which he has been associated in which he has failed to lay stress both on the absolute necessity for provincial Governments to make better provision for girls, and on the importance of their planning out a policy for the development of girls' education.

We are extremely glad that the Central Advisory Board has been reconstituted with a Committee on Girls' Education and with some women on it, Lady Grigg and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, and I am very glad to hear that Miss Rangarao has now also become a member. We hope great things from that Committee, and indeed we want help of every kind in regard to this question of women's education, in order that public opinion may be really roused, and roused to take action, so that Governments will be forced to take action also.

Although Mr. Butler has managed to extract some comfort from studying the figures in regard to women's education in the Central Provinces, I must confess that when I looked up the latest report I found it extremely depressing. The amount spent on girls was something under Rs. 9 lakhs and on boys Rs. 77 lakhs—8½ times as much. Of course I admit that the existing institutions for boys must be maintained. I am not asking that you should shut up boys' institutions in order that you may open institutions for girls. But what I am asking is that the new money being spent year after year on education should be so allotted between the sexes as gradually to make up this awful leeway and redress the balance. That is a possible thing, and the Province of Madras has shown that it is a possible thing.

In the Central Provinces, according to this last report, there was a new expenditure allotted for education of something over 3½ lakhs. What happened to it? 3½ lakhs went to the boys and the something over—Rs. 36,000 to be exact—to the girls. How can any real progress be made with that kind of policy?

I know again that I shall be told that in the amounts for boys are included all that is spent on the girls who go to boys' schools. And that brings me to the subject of co-education. In all the remarkable features in the extraordinary increase in the demand for education for girls in India during the last ten years, perhaps the most remarkable is the way that the girls have flocked into the boys' schools. In one or two Provinces indeed there are now more girls in boys' schools than in the girls' schools. In the Central Provinces, considered as a backward and conservative Province, two-fifths of the girls at school are in boys' schools. Co-education in the villages is obviously the sensible, practical, economical method of getting both boys and girls to school, but as it is practised at present, and this we hear from all over India, it is not really co-educational at all as we understand it.

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There are no special arrangements for the girls, and no special women teachers.

In a letter which came to me from Miss Cashmore—who was Warden at one time of the Manchester University Settlement and who has gone out under the auspices of the Friends to work in the villages of Central India—she says: "I wonder very much as to what you really think about co-education in the villages. You speak as if it has come to stay. I am wholly for it from some points of view. But really what it amounts to is this. Education becomes 'compulsory' in a rural area. 'What happens? I was in such a rural area the other day. Certain selected places were chosen for this compulsion. The village school I was in had 164 children in attendance. I saw them. I saw two girls! I said, 'If it is compulsory, where are the girls?' There turned out to be nine on the register and two in attendance. I am always finding this, and there is a further difficulty. A girl may attend in the bottom classes, but how is she to attend as she grows in a place where early marriage is taken as a *sine qua non*? I think, of course, the answer is co-education in the sense of schools designed for boys and girls, but with responsible women teachers in charge of the girls, and, above all, separate sanitary arrangements and separate physical exercises. It is a matter that needs the most careful thinking out now."

I most fully agree with that, and I should like to take this opportunity of repeating a practical suggestion that what is wanted is not only a Central Committee for girls' education in every Province, but groups of educated women in every district who would be linked up to that Central Committee, and who would take an interest in the schools for girls and also in the girls who go to boys' schools.

Now I must come back to the higher education of women. All over India girls are now going into the colleges for men. Even in the Central Provinces there are about eighty who are in the men's colleges, but as our Chairman pointed out there is a very great demand for women's hostels, and in the conservative Provinces for separate colleges for women. I need not emphasize here in Bedford College that the advantages of college life do not consist in just going to lectures.

The need of such a college as the Central College at Nagpur is amply shown in the way the numbers have jumped up in the very short time since it has been opened. If any further evidence were wanted it is to be found in the scarcity of teachers to which Lady Gowan has referred. In the pages of the report which I have already quoted I saw that the Inspectress of Schools could not find a single trained graduate who could be Lady Superintendent of the Amraoti Girls' Training School, and a few lines further on that they had to advertise and get a woman teacher for the Anglo-Urdu School from outside the Province at a salary higher than they had budgeted for the post because they could not get a teacher from inside the Central Provinces.

While I firmly believe that it is the Indian public and the Indian Governments who have got to shoulder the general responsibility of the finance of girls' education in every grade, I do think that this college—which has made such an excellent start with Miss Rangarao as its principal and with

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the help and sympathy of Lady Gowan—deserves every encouragement and support, and that any help that one could give to make it easier for the staff in these early days of struggle would be help very well given.

I should like to finish by just reading to you a passage from a letter from Miss Rangarao herself, which was written to me without any idea of this meeting, but which comes in very well as a message to it.

"I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that India to-day has only one problem, and that is education. To improve the quality is as necessary as to increase the quantity, especially women's education. I think the country has learnt to her sorrow what the neglect of women's education leads to. . . . Our little college is struggling along, hardly able to keep body and soul together. Lady Gowan is really its creator, and I should say its sustainer too, and it is under her care and constant hard work that we are able to exist at all."

Miss Rathbone: It is my pleasant duty to draw these proceedings to an end by asking you to record your gratitude to the speakers.

I do think we owe a great deal to Lady Gowan for all that she has done for this college at Nagpur and for women's education in other ways. It is no small sacrifice, when you are within two days of departure from your native land for a further prolonged stay, to give up an afternoon to talking about India, as Lady Gowan has done to-day. We all have enjoyed that lively little account of the college, which enabled us almost to see it with our own eyes.

Then it was delightful to hear from Lady Qadir her sympathetic appeal on behalf of a college which does not belong to her own Province, and also those interesting facts she told us about women's education in the Punjab. It is specially interesting to many of us to meet Sir George Anderson. We know that women's education in India has for long had a very real friend in him. Lady Hartog's enthusiasm for the cause and all she has written about it is known to us all. Then Mr. Butler has been good enough to spare us an afternoon from his busy days at the India Office. My gratitude to him is even more for the kindly and sympathetic way in which he has always listened to those of us who are pleading the cause of women in India. The improvements in the India Bill that we were able to secure during its passage were due in not a small degree to the particularly sympathetic hearer we had in Mr. Butler.

But what I really want you to do to-day is to record your gratitude not only in applause, but with pencil and paper. You see upon the seats appeals for this college at Nagpur. I want to make it quite clear that that appeal does not issue from the East India Association. Mr. Brown, though he gladly agreed to arrange the meeting, has been careful to impress upon us that it was not part of the work of the East India Association to collect money for charitable or educational purposes; but he did permit us to circulate those little papers.

May I put to you what I feel myself to be the special claim that this particular college has on us. We are accustomed to receive appeals on behalf of educational enterprises in India, like that great appeal that has

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been issued by the Christian Colleges. But this is a college practically started by an Indian woman, for Indian women, staffed by Indian women. I think it desirable that those who are carrying on this work at nominal salaries, under great difficulties, in overcrowded buildings, should feel that English men and women are anxious to do something to help India's own effort and not only to help the things we have initiated ourselves.

Miss Rangarao belongs to us too, especially to Bedford College. I remember well my first impressions of her. I was immensely struck by her beauty, charm, and humour, and I wondered very much what was going to be the future of that girl. When I met her last she had just taken a brilliant degree in Geography at London University, and was looking forward, with a little natural regret, to leaving her friends here. She had grown accustomed to the conditions of life in England. When I next heard from her it was from Nagpur, telling me about this college, and saying that she believed she had found her life work, and felt that this was the thing that it was given to her to do for her own countrywomen.

I feel she is right, but I hope she will find that we, her friends in England, those to whom she has taught something and from whom she has perhaps learnt something, are also the friends of her college. We cannot expect to raise large sums this afternoon, but perhaps some of you would be so good as to get an additional copy of that slip and to interest some others who have not been able to attend to-day.

I believe this college will do its little share towards the cause of friendship and co-operation between the two races, because there could not be anyone better than Miss Rangarao to exemplify that co-operation—a woman sharing in the aspirations and ideals of her own race, but educated among us, and carrying over to India the lessons she learnt here.

May I also join thanks to Mr. Brown and the East India Association for arranging this meeting, and also to Miss Jebb for allowing us to meet at Bedford College and for her hospitality in inviting us to tea?

Miss Rathbone then put the resolution and it was carried by acclamation.

Lady Gowan: Please accept our very sincere gratitude for the way you have sat and listened to what we had to say this afternoon. I hope we have established a bond of sympathy between Bedford College and this audience, and all well-wishers of India. Thank you all very much indeed for the way you have helped us by your kindly interest.

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SECONDARY EDUCATION IN INDIA: RURAL RECONSTRUCTION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

By Sir George Anderson, C.S.I., C.I.E.

I shall try to confine attention this afternoon to certain adverse effects of the secondary system of education in India on rural development and on unemployment among the middle classes.

The Impoverishment of the Countryside

I have no desire to belittle the laudable schemes of rural development which are now being put into operation, but suggest that the essential conditions of success are sadly lacking. There is not at hand a peasantry sufficiently educated to appreciate their value; nor is there an indigenous agency which will guide their development. Success should not be dependent on spasmodic efforts from *without*; there should be a widespread movement from *within*, and that movement is dependent on a well-devised system of rural education.

Unfortunately, the present scheme of education is even antagonistic to rural progress, mainly because it is dominated by urban and university requirements. At the very time when upholders of rural reform are crying out for an indigenous agency, the more gifted pupils who would in time have provided that agency are being sucked into the towns in order to pursue a purely urban and literary form of education; and, such being the present conditions of rural life, it is difficult to expect them, on the completion of their education, to return to their homes and serve the countryside. They loiter in the market places, seeking work and finding none.

Alongside, and nominally parallel to, the anglo-vernacular system leading to matriculation and beyond is, as you are aware, the vernacular or, as I would prefer to call it, the rural system of education, the main feature of which is the vernacular middle school with eight classes. The position of these schools varies in the several provinces. In Bengal, they have fallen into almost

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hopeless decay; they are now only about fifty in number as against some three thousand middle English and high schools. As a result, after completing their education in the primary schools which, being usually of the three-class variety, are almost valueless for the attainment of literacy, pupils almost inevitably continue their education in an English school, with their eyes glued on matriculation and in an environment divorced from rural life. Whence, then, is to arise that widespread movement which is vital to rural reform?

Unfortunately, even in provinces where vernacular middle schools have at any rate been kept alive, the distinction between them and the English schools is confined mainly to the omission of English teaching, and even that distinction is blurred by the so-called optional English classes. If, therefore, rural progress is to be achieved, not only should vernacular middle schools largely replace English schools, but their teaching should be in harmony with rural life.

Even more important, the teachers in these schools should themselves have been educated and trained in a rural environment. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the teacher in the task of rural reform. In the English countryside there are often at hand the country parson, the country squire and the country doctor, who are in close touch with village life and help to provide an indigenous agency for developing rural activities; but in India these agencies, if they exist at all, are often antagonistic to rural progress. Oliver Goldsmith was fully justified in his warm appreciation of the village parson, who was the prop and stay of the village and "was passing rich on forty pounds a year." The urgent need of the Indian countryside is a constant supply of vernacular teachers, *of* the village and *from* the village, suitably grounded and suitably trained, who will be the Indian counterpart of Goldsmith's parson and will be "passing rich" on forty rupees per mensem.

Let it also be remembered that the tentacles of the present urban system of education are deep-rooted and stretch even to primary schools in rural areas. If these schools have to depend on the urban-minded matriculate, they will be unlikely to become village

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institutions in which village folk can take wholehearted pride and interest.

The Hartog Committee were therefore wise in their contention that "money spent on the expansion of vernacular middle schools and on vernacular training institutions will yield a larger and more permanently fruitful return than money spent on the many other objects which are dear to the heart of the educationist."*

The seed of this ideal was planted many years ago by the American Presbyterian Mission and has been nurtured at Moga in the Punjab by successive Principals, Dr. Ray Carter, Mr. W. J. McKee and the Rev. and Mrs. A. E. Harper. The vernacular middle school is a model of its kind; its teaching is such that it escapes the depressing wastage so common in India; the school farm and village crafts provide the right background of village service. Even more valuable is the class for teachers who are trained in matters pertaining to the advancement of the countryside and become later the prop and stay of their folk in the villages.

The example of Moga has provided the incentive to yet further expansion. Would it not be possible to surround the core of general training now given at Moga and other places with special training suited to the requirements of varying types of village worker? A well-rounded training institution such as this would be a rallying point in the progress of the countryside.

Efforts have been made in these directions. I refer, in particular, to the Punjab because of my intimate connection with that province. As the first and essential step, the number of vernacular middle schools in that province has been increased from a few hundred in 1920 to about three thousand at the present day; school farms and gardens have been developed; the teaching has been attuned to village requirements. Even more important, vernacular training institutions have been extended, with the result that practically all vernacular teachers have received training, and on lines well suited to village conditions.

If this be so, why all this fuss; why not persevere along these

* Hartog Report, p. 77.

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lines? Unfortunately, these developments cannot fully prosper so long as rural education is regarded as a cheap and nasty alternative to English education. It must have an individuality of its own; and rural pupils should ordinarily seek their education in rural and not, as now, in urban institutions. In other words, the lure of matriculation must be counteracted.

Urban Unemployables

I now pass to the baneful effects of the secondary system on unemployment. It is true that education, by itself, cannot create new avenues to employment; that can only be done by an extension of industry. But even if industry were widely extended, the number of posts suitable to graduates would still be negligible. It would be perilous to raise hopes among graduates which cannot be realized.

Though, therefore, Indian education cannot legitimately be accused of failure to provide employment, it has yet to meet an even more serious charge. A very large proportion of pupils prolong unduly a purely literary form of education and thereby become averse from practical work. 314,000, or 57 per cent., of pupils in the four higher classes of high schools cannot hope to appear in, let alone pass, the simple matriculation test before they reach the age of eighteen; and many will be over twenty years of age. And such is the rut into which they have fallen, many will proceed yet further along the unprofitable road. Universities are therefore congested and are precluded from providing that standard of education which the more gifted students deserve and which the country needs; even more serious, the system *is producing unemployables*.

A further defect is the practice of biennial examinations. From an early age, Indian pupils are subjected every two years to the ordeal of a public examination; after each interruption they spend perhaps half a year in adapting themselves to new conditions and often to new surroundings; and, again, half of each second year to "cramming" for the next examination. There can be little continuity of study or training of character. Moreover, these examinations have little purpose; they are but as milestones along

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the dreary road towards a degree, in which but few are successful. The casualty list at each examination is appalling.

Proposed Remedies

The secondary system is thus gravely defective. It impoverishes the countryside; it creates unemployables; its teaching is artificial and lifeless; the universities are overcrowded and tend to become administrative machines instead of places of learning. These defects are now widely recognized; what are the remedies?

Some would be content with improvement within the existing framework. In point of fact there has already been much improvement. In the Punjab, for example, most high schools possess admirable buildings; the gardens and playing-fields are well cared for; the large majority of teachers have been trained; the standard of recruitment in training colleges is rapidly improving; physical training and the playing of games reach a high standard of efficiency; the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides have brought life and happiness to the pupils; the schools are by no means the dull, drab places that they used to be.

Unfortunately, in spite of these improvements, the position has actually deteriorated. The countryside is being denuded more and more of its better talent; the number of unemployables is rising by leaps and bounds; the teaching is still sterilized by examination "cram"; the universities are further congested; more and more good material is going to waste!

Others seek a solution by including vocational alongside of literary subjects in schools and colleges. New wine should not be put into old bottles. Besides, vocational training needs a firm basis of general training; it needs also expensive equipment and experienced instructors. Resources should not be dissipated, but be concentrated in separate institutions designed for the purpose. There is the further danger that pupils will be tempted by the bait of desultory and superficial training to proceed yet further along the unprofitable road of literary study and to accentuate their aversion from practical work. The framework must first be altered, and only then will vocational training come into its rightful place.

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Others advocate a stiffening of matriculation standards, but it would not be equitable to deny facilities to pupils merely because they had no bent for literary study, and to expect them to wait until a more suitable alternative had been provided. Moreover, such action would cause further congestion in high schools as pupils would still prolong their literary studies until they had gained their much belated relief.

Others, again, pin their faith in intermediate colleges. Unfortunately, these institutions have hitherto failed to reach their rightful goal by the fact that they are encased in the present rigid framework which in practice relegates them to an unimportant, though lucrative, part of the university course. Their training is also bisected by a meaningless matriculation or equivalent examination; and while they themselves overlap the college classes at the top, they are also overlapped by the school classes at the bottom.

There can be little surprise, therefore, that radical treatment has been demanded in turn by the Punjab University Committee, by the Universities Conference, by the Government of the United Provinces, by the Government of India, by the Unemployment Committee presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and, last but not least, by the Central Advisory Board. All these authorities, and there are many more besides, are united in the belief that effective remedy can best be found in the schools, which should first be liberated from the entanglements of matriculation. This done, the school system should be divided into separate stages, each with its own objective; and at the completion of each stage pupils should be diverted to vocational training and occupations.

The primary stage should therefore be of a duration sufficient to ensure permanent literacy, and pupils should not be compelled, as now, to proceed to a higher stage in order to attain that modest objective. The lower primary schools, with only three classes, of which there are about 40,000 in Bengal alone, are of little value for the attainment of literacy and therefore represent a distressing waste of money and effort. Bearing in mind, on the other hand, the claims of child labour and other considerations, the primary stage

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should not be prolonged. The Universities Conference recommended a period of four or five years; the latter alternative seems preferable. Provided that this stage of education were suitably organized on that basis and the schools were wisely distributed, and provided that the activities of local bodies were adequately controlled by Ministries of Education, a large proportion of the pupils would then leave school fortified by the attainment of literacy and the higher stages of education would be relieved from much unnecessary strain. If, however, these essential conditions are not supplied, there is little prospect either of widespread literacy or of relief to the higher stages of education.

Over and above the primary stage, there should be a lower secondary stage which, in the fulness of time, might approximate to the English primary stage and become universal. This stage, again, should be of sufficient duration to provide pupils with such measure of general training as would enable them either to join humble, though honourable, callings now often filled by illiterates, or to benefit by vocational training. On the other hand, it should not be unduly prolonged so that pupils will become averse from practical work. The Universities Conference proposed a period of four or five years. Given a primary stage of five years, a lower secondary stage of four years would be preferable. Thus, a pupil would complete this stage by the time that he was approximately fifteen years of age, which would roughly coincide with the new school age in England.

The completion of this shortened secondary stage of general education would mark the main point of diversion from literary to vocational training, which would thus be provided at the right time and in the right place. Intermediate colleges would then constitute a self-contained and independent stage of higher secondary education by preparing pupils for admission to universities and by providing for certain forms of professional education. Their course would not then overlap or be overlapped by classes of another stage. Universities, again, could concentrate on a three-year degree course and on higher studies and research; they would also be liberated from embarrassing administrative functions. Examinations would take place at less frequent intervals and would

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have the definite purpose of testing whether the particular objective of each particular stage had been achieved.

The Difficulties of Reconstruction

There will undoubtedly be strenuous opposition, especially from vested interests. With certain forms of vested interests every sympathy should be shown. For example, compensation should be given to universities for the loss of the large income now derived from matriculation fees; but it would be an advantage if universities were relieved from the temptation of regarding candidates as so much cannon fodder for meeting the needs of higher work and research. The loss of the first-year intermediate class by colleges should also be taken into consideration; but I cannot resist the observation that the present practice of providing what is in reality school education to masses of pupils in the capital cities of India is both harmful and extravagant. In England, for example, it would be regarded as an act of lunacy if children were herded into London for their schooling, yet such is the common practice in India.

I do not believe, however, that the schools would be crippled in their finances, as the lower secondary schools would be self-contained and be relieved from expenditure on the higher classes, while the higher secondary schools would be released from expenditure on the lower classes. Both types of school would thus be released from the present wasteful competition and overlapping.

But what about these vocational institutions, which will undoubtedly cost money? I have made a rough estimate that India now pays annually the sum of five crores of rupees on the creation of unemployable students. I do not suggest that the whole of this gigantic sum could be saved and made available to vocational institutions, but am none the less amazed to be told that, while this extravagance continues to be subsidised and encouraged with complacency, vocational training cannot be provided on the score of expense.

There are other forms of vested interests, with which there should be no quarter; with those who canvass and intrigue for

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lucrative examinerships, with the prolific writers of textbooks and so forth, with those who thrive on large increases in the number of examinees and who exercise an undue and an unfortunate influence in university councils. The struggle thus lies between those who desire and those who, mainly in their own interests, do not desire reform.

* * * * *

In conclusion, I fear that I may have failed to give a clear account of present shortcomings and of the main remedies. I trust, however, that I have succeeded, at any rate, in establishing my main contention that there is little use in tinkering with the present system and that radical reconstruction has become imperative. The work of rural reform cannot go on waiting for ever, and the depressing spectacle of ever-increasing numbers of unemployables brooks no delay.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, November 10, 1936, when a paper entitled "Secondary Education in India: Rural Reconstruction and Unemployment" was read by Sir George Anderson, C.S.I., C.I.E. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Amherst Selby Bigge, Bart., K.C.B., Sir Atul C. Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hugh Macpherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Abdul Qadir, Major-General Sir John Megaw, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hubert Carr, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Reginald Clancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Henry Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., and Lady Hartog, Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Colonel Sir Cusack and Lady Walton, Sir Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Lady Bennett, Lady Keymer, Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh, Mr. C. G. Hancock, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Miss Mary Sorabji, Miss Stella Mead, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. K. K. Lalkaka, Mr. Justice Ba U, Mr. E. Batchelor, Professor G. H. Langley, Mr. T. T. Williams, Mr. and Mrs. H. K. Briscoe, Miss Leatherdale, Mrs. Percy Brown, Mrs. Godfrey, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mr. W. F. J. Frank, Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Gray, Mr. A. T. Penman, Miss Gunter, Mrs. G. G. Sim, Mr. H. V. Hampton, Mr. R. C. Goffin, Mr. A. B. Rudra, Capt. J. C. Ramchandan, I.M.S., and Mrs. Ramchandan, Mr. S. R. Tawde, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mrs. Joseph, Miss K. Speechley, Miss B. Batlivala, Dr. and Mrs. C. E. Carpmael, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Lord Hailey is on his way back from Geneva, where he is Chairman of the Mandates Commission. He is not able to be here till later on, when he hopes to be able to look in. Consequently I have had the honour to take his position in the Chair this afternoon. We are going to listen to a very important paper by Sir George Anderson, who was until recently Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, on the subject of secondary education in India.

Sir GEORGE ANDERSON then delivered his lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir George Anderson has given us a very valuable insight into the working of educational institutions in India. His views were rather pessimistic, but I hope the reconstruction required will not be so difficult to carry out as he fears. Everybody is beginning to realize that far too much encouragement is given to Indians to engage in the higher branches of education, including many who have not the equipment to benefit thereby.

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Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge: I do not think it is quite fair to ask me to lead off in this matter, because, after all, I am an outsider, and I am tainted with English bureaucracy.

I am glad, however, to congratulate Sir George Anderson not only on the success of his past efforts in the Punjab, which I observed in 1928, to adapt the educational system of India to rural requirements, but on the new departure in the same direction which he has been active in promoting. It is a very fitting termination to his career as Educational Commissioner with the Government of India that he should have been able to move the Government to give a definite lead in the direction of reform of the educational system, or want of system, which prevails in India. I do congratulate him very heartily on that. It is rather remarkable that he has persuaded the Government of India not only to give a lead on paper, but to provide money for obtaining expert advice on the proposals which he has made.

The Government of India have given a lead in a direction which will not only help to develop those indigenous agencies for rural betterment, to which Sir George has referred, but also in the direction of remedying the maladies and maladjustments which have been recognized and emphasized for very many years not only by outside observers but by authoritative expressions of opinion by Indians themselves.

As I say, I am an outsider. I should very much hesitate to diagnose the maladies of the Indian system. I take my diagnosis from authoritative documents which have been published by the Government of India and by all sorts of Commissions and other bodies, and from the statements of those who are themselves concerned in the control and direction of education. The maladies have been recognized for many years, and now at last the Government of India with the newly reconstituted Advisory Board have entered the lists.

As I understand it, the Government of India at present have been moved mainly by the lamentable consequences of the maladjustments of the University system, the admission and retention of unfit students, the disappointment, discontent, and unrest which arise from failure, and the unemployment, or even what Sir George has called the unemployability, of a large number of University graduates, as well as those who do succeed in obtaining degrees.

That is where the Government of India start. The whole system of primary education, with its enormous waste and ineffectiveness, of course also demands attention. But the number of people who are distressed by waste of public money is not very large, and enthusiasts very often drown their voices, and in the field of primary education the vices of the system do not give rise to active discontent or unrest.

In the secondary system you have the domination of the Universities, and the need of radical reform to diminish that domination is universally recognized. Those who have considered this matter in recent years have come, I think, to a practically unanimous conclusion that they must start by a radical reform of the system of secondary schools which feed the Universities.

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One of the main features of that reform is the provision of what I may call wayside halts. The other feature is the provision of branch lines which will conduct those who continue their education and do not enter into occupations to destinations other than literary and academic. I think the key of the plan is to divert unfit students, or students for whom a University career would be unprofitable, from the Universities by providing alternative attractions, and the alternative attractions are to be found in a considerable development of vocational and practical training. It is an encouraging move, and I hope it may succeed.

As Sir George has recognized, training and education do not provide jobs, but you must not blame the system of education if the social and economic structure does not provide openings. Personally, if I were going to make any criticism of Sir George Anderson, I should be inclined to say that if there really is to be anything worthy of the name of radical reform, the Governments of the different Provinces will have to go a good deal further; and I expect that even to get the reform which is contemplated they will have to exercise a good deal of resolute administrative pressure.

In the long run I incline to the belief that direct action of some kind will be inevitable, including direct action to exclude unfit University students. Sir George has deprecated that, and, of course, it is quite obvious that when the present system of everybody trying to go on to the University has been so long established you cannot suddenly cut off that access. You must at all events give due notice, because you cannot deprive a whole generation of students who have fixed their ambitions upon a University career of that opening without providing something attractive in its place.

But I expect, as the process of reform goes on, that some direct action, such as was recently taken, I believe, in the University of Bombay, where there was a "matriculation slaughter," will have to be faced in other Universities if the congestion of the Universities by unfit students is to be effectively checked.

My friend Sir Philip Hartog, who is here and on whose Committee I served, came to the conclusion, in the Report of his Committee, that the real difficulty lay in defective control and guidance on the part of Governments. In India the power of the Education Departments and Ministers has not been used so effectively or as much as in England. I could quote instances which would astonish some of my Indian friends as to what the Board of Education has dared to do in the past in that way. The question is whether Governments will really have the strength to do what they think ought to be done and what they would very much like to do. There is in England a really effective Government influence for the administration of the system of education. It is performed in partnership with the local authorities, and that partnership with the local authorities and Whitehall is quite genuine and effective. I believe that in the long run there will have to be some more resolute action by Governments and ministers than is at present perhaps contemplated.

Sir Philip Hartog: I made a rapid calculation at the beginning of this meeting that Sir George Anderson and I have worked together day by day

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(besides having worked together casually) for twenty-five months altogether; and the amount of our agreement has been very great compared with the amount of our disagreement. I would like to say here and now how much the Report of what is called "the Hartog Committee" owes to Sir George Anderson and to my friend Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge. I am not going to cover again the ground which they have traversed, because I find myself in almost complete agreement with everything that they have said. But I should like to enlarge on one or two points.

First of all let us take this question of vocational education. As Sir George has pointed out, and Sir Amherst also, it is all very well to provide vocational education, but you have also to find vocations for the people who receive it. I have here before me the report, very kindly furnished by Sir George, of the Central Advisory Board of Education, revived by Government at his instigation, and I find that the "higher secondary stage" includes institutions with varying length of courses:

(i.) Preparing students for admission to Universities in arts and science; (ii.) for the training of teachers in rural areas. Both these categories are perfectly easy to understand.

(iii.) For agricultural training. Here we are raising a point that, at any rate in Bengal and, I believe, in other Provinces, is one that is not at all easy. In Bengal the problem, as I have said before, is this. You have a large number of persons of the middle class, many of them extremely intelligent, who would be quite capable, if properly trained, of acting as expert advisers for large agricultural estates in this Province of over fifty million people. But the average holding in Bengal is only about two acres. Until you can get some co-operative system, such as you have had in Denmark and in Ireland, you cannot use the brains of the educated classes to assist in agriculture. I should very much like to know Sir James MacKenna's views as to what kind of agricultural training should be provided in this higher secondary stage.

Now we come to (iv.), clerical training, and I notice here, a little below, a very important suggestion: "Candidates desirous of joining the subordinate clerical services of Government and of local bodies should pass such qualifying examinations as might be prescribed by the proper authority and should not be more than nineteen years of age at the date of their examination."

That means, I hope, that it should no longer be necessary, as it so often now is, for a man to have taken a degree before he goes into minor clerical employment, and that the training for that clerical employment will be of a much more technical and efficient character than it is at present. I regard that as a most important suggestion. If that clause were to be brought into effect the relief on the pressure to enter the Universities would be enormous, even without such administrative action as Sir Amherst has suggested, an action which I should myself entirely welcome.

Then, finally, the item (v.), "for training in selected technical subjects, which should be chosen in consultation with employers."

There is one point in the recent history of India to which little attention has been drawn. I cannot call to mind any important patent that has

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been taken out by an Indian, in spite of the number of Indians employed now in the larger industries. My information may be defective and I may be wrong. If I am not, is there a defect of mechanical imagination in India, or is there only a defect of opportunity? That is one point.

Here is another. In Bengal—I speak of the Province that I know best, though I know others—there is an enormous production of goat skins, which are exported to be turned into kid. The best skins, I believe, are called Dacca skins, though they do not all come from Dacca. I made a great many enquiries as to the possibility of setting up small tanneries in Bengal, and the reply I received everywhere was the same. If you had a small successful tannery in Bengal you might expect it to pay about 10 per cent. But you would have to get your capital locally, and the local capitalist could make 25 per cent. by lending out his money at interest—to the peasant who needs it for marriages and funerals and the dowries of his daughters, and makes debts which keep him in shackles for life. There you have the difficulties of the social system.

I remember that, when I first went to Bengal in 1917, in a few of the high schools there were parallel to the matriculation classes "B" classes giving some manual and other engineering training leading direct to a practical career. The classes were good, but not popular. The officiating author of the *Quinquennial Review*, first published at this time, stated that "No boy will go into a 'B' class if in his parents' or his own estimation he has any chance of passing the matriculation examination."* And the matriculation examination has the same kind of prestige still. So that you will see, ladies and gentlemen, that in carrying out the reforms outlined in the paper the provincial Governments of India have an immense task before them. But I believe that if these Governments as a whole have the kind of imagination that Sir George Anderson himself has, and the kind of drive that he has shown in getting vernacular middle education placed on an entirely new basis in the Punjab, they will succeed.

I should like to congratulate Sir George on his paper.

Professor George H. Langley: It is a very great pleasure for me to speak in reference to this paper, with which I am in almost entire agreement. I consider that Sir George Anderson has dealt with certain aspects of Indian education which are vitally important, and that the proposals which he has made for radical reconstruction are extremely necessary. Time prevents me from dealing with many points in the paper, but as I had the privilege and honour of presiding over the Universities Conference to which Sir George refers, I will confine what I wish to say to certain comments on the resolution of the Conference.

This resolution embodies a proposal for reorganizing the educational system in India into three main stages. The first is to be a primary stage of four or five years—I agree with Sir George that five is preferable—and the end to be achieved is *permanent*, not temporary, literacy. Now the

* *Report of the Calcutta University Committee*, vol. i., pp. 221-222.

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point to which I wish to draw attention here is in regard to the difficulty which must be faced. In most Provinces, at any rate, the reorganization of the primary school stage on these lines will involve considerable expenditure. Sir George has referred to the village teachers who might be passing rich on 40 rupees a month; but I think he will agree that they cannot be passing rich on 6 rupees a month—which is approximately the remuneration paid to a majority of the primary school teachers in Bengal. It follows, therefore, that even if you assume there will be no increase in the number of boys and girls receiving education in primary schools, but merely an extension of the educational period from three years—the present period—to five, such increase in the rates of remuneration to primary school teachers as will ensure them livable salaries, and the necessary improvements of buildings and equipment, then certainly considerable additional expenditure would be involved.

But I think you will all agree with me that primary education, the aim of which is permanent literacy, is a *right for every boy and girl* in any country with an intelligent and cultured people; and India is such a country. A few years ago a special officer was appointed by the Government of Bengal to work out a scheme for compulsory primary education in the Province. So far as I remember the scheme was worked out on the basis of salaries of from 15 to 16 rupees a month for primary school teachers, and the cost of the scheme for the whole of Bengal was estimated at over Rs. 2 crores. Everybody was, of course, theoretically in favour of the scheme, but Government and those responsible for the administration of education would not face the expediture. Two crores is, I admit, a fairly big expenditure, but then look at the problem in this way. If such a sum were required for a purpose considered by Government as vital—the maintenance of law and order or something of that kind—it would be forthcoming. But when it is required for a creative project such as the people's education, which is at any rate equally important, it appears very difficult for Government to face so large an expenditure. Nevertheless it is an expenditure which must be faced.

Coming to the second part of the scheme, it is proposed that the primary course be followed by another course of four years' duration. The Universities Conference, so far as I remember, held that if the first course were of four years, the second should be of five: while if the first were of five—which Sir George prefers—the second should be of four years. In this connection I am glad Sir George has insisted on the very great importance of training teachers. He emphasizes the importance of relating the schools providing for this course to the vital needs of the populations whom they serve. If the schools are in rural areas they must have a rural bias, and must train pupils in such ways as will promote their interest in their rural environments and inspire them with a desire to improve the conditions of their village lives. For schools of this type two things are essential. First, a group of men and women with imagination to guide the working out of schemes; and, secondly, teachers of the right type and possessing adequate training.

The other point I wished to make was one to which Sir Philip Hartog

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has already referred. Side by side with the reform in education you must have improvement in the conditions of the villages; for if you raise the level of intelligence in pupils in rural schools, they will demand a wider interest in life and a higher standard of living. It is the inevitable result of sound education.

One improvement which would be most helpful is referred to by Mr. Strickland in a recent report. He there mentions the great advance which has been made in the Punjab towards the consolidation of small holdings. In 1934-5 100,000 holdings were reduced to 17,000. This means that contiguous holdings are larger and can be cultivated by improved methods. A tremendous drive in this direction would be an advantage in all Provinces. Further assistance might be given by the encouragement of some system of co-operative cultivation. Splendid work has been done in India by the development of co-operative banks and co-operative credit societies for its peasantry, but so far as I know the problem of co-operative cultivation has scarcely been touched. If contiguous small holdings could be worked as units, more modern implements could be introduced, and methods of cultivation improved. Undoubtedly something of the kind is necessary to improve the environment in such manner as to give greater interest to boys and girls who have been educated in rural schools.

In regard to the third stage, it is extremely important, as Sir George has insisted, that those who are really not fitted to take University training should be eliminated at the earlier stages. All interested in University education are anxious to achieve this result. Personally I always feel that the crowding of colleges is not so much the fault of students. I know Indian students possess a passionate desire for obtaining University degrees, but in my opinion only as a means to obtaining employment, and if only you are able to prove that employment can be obtained without acquiring University degrees, many of them will be more than ready to abandon their pursuit of the degrees.

Sir Stanley Reed: The first speaker said he spoke as an outsider and as a bureaucrat. May I speak as a complete outsider but not a bureaucrat? I have listened with enormous pleasure to Sir George Anderson's paper, because everybody who knows anything about educational conditions in India will agree with 99 per cent. of it. It was particularly pleasant to me, because I see in that paper the development and fruition of ideas which he and I shared in common something like twenty-five years ago, when we were members of the Bombay University Senate.

Looking back on our work in India, I think we must regard our work for education, certainly after the 'nineties, as thoroughly bad. For that we and the Government of the day must take supreme responsibility. The root cause of our educational difficulties in India is the tyranny of the matriculation. Our educational system has been based on the assumption that everybody who learns anything is going to be a University student. So now we come to the stage when we are going to have this real development, we hope, of vocational training. There again I have no hope of the

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success of the scheme unless Governments arise which will be really interested in education. That has not been the case until now in my connection with India.

Two points in the debate are rather important. Sir Philip Hartog raised the point as to whether the social and economic system would absorb the products of the educational system. I differ entirely from his assumption that adequate capital at a reasonable rate of interest will not be available for the development of industries. India today is suffering from a glut of capital, for which there is no attractive economic outlet. Those whose business it is to control or influence capital know that their great difficulty is to find any outlet for it at a reasonable rate. This is due to many causes, and not least to the remarkable liquidation of India's store of treasure through the sales of gold.

The second point is the development of the productivity of the rural areas. Reference has been made to the consolidation of holdings in the Punjab. Believe me, the problem in the Punjab is only a microscopical fraction of the problem in the ryotwari areas, where uneconomic holdings are divided into a multitude of even more uneconomic patches, denying the possibility of a decent livelihood.

There has been little real interest in rural industries and their development since Lord Curzon until the new movement sponsored by Lord Linlithgow. There is a stir in India at the present time in many directions, although the outward and visible signs of that stirring are chiefly in politics. It is being reflected in the villages and will develop from the rural uplift scheme and broadcasting, which is going to transform the situation. We have an opportunity now of remedying our blunders of the last forty years, and it is for us to do our utmost in that direction, because believe me, we have a tremendously heavy debt to pay.

I am not in the least interested in or influenced by the allegation that there is no money, because a saving of 25 per cent. of the waste of education today will provide a sufficient sum, or very nearly a sufficient sum, to carry out the great reforms which have been adumbrated in the address to which we have listened this afternoon.

Sir Henry Sharp: I suppose what I say will prove provocative. It generally does. But at all events I speak from considerable conviction and considerable experience. I was for many years Inspector of Schools in the Central Provinces, where rural education was considered to be particularly good. I was also Director of Public Instruction in part of Bengal, where secondary and University education are considered to be particularly faulty. I entirely agree with my friend Sir George Anderson and my friend Sir Amherst Selby-Bigge when they say that the stumbling-block has been the lure of the matriculation.

But when we come to consider remedies for this state of things, which does militate gravely against the economic and social interests of India—well, Lord Lamington said that Sir George was a little pessimistic. I am afraid I am much more pessimistic than Sir George. We are up against a system which was introduced in the middle of last century, and which

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very rapidly became entrenched behind the barbed wire of vested interests, and which lives largely upon the fallacious attraction of the University degree or at least the attempt to get a University degree.

We have made all sorts of efforts to get away from this difficulty. I remember when we in Eastern Bengal got an enormous scheme up, the Government of Bengal agreeing, and we began to finance secondary education—which largely is the pivot—in a really satisfactory manner. But the thing proved hopeless. The moment you begin to really improve by Government grants the existing schools, and to fit them out with proper buildings and proper teachers, you get a mushroom growth—perhaps I ought rather to say a fungus growth—of other institutions springing up and spoiling your average and bringing down the standard.

My own fear is, and has been for many years, that the difficulty is so great that no outside control, no application of money—which by the way really ought to be going into elementary education instead of shoring up indifferent secondary education—is going to work the miracle.

I believe the solution depends on two things. First, cure from within. I cannot help thinking that the time will come when the parents will themselves rebel against this system and will rise up and smash it. It is becoming so ludicrous, such an intolerable state of things. And the other is what Sir George Anderson has laid stress upon—namely, the encouragement of rural interests.

I rejoice to see that in the Punjab they are resuscitating the vernacular middle school. In the Central Provinces we had most admirable vernacular middle schools. There was no English in them at all. I had not been there very long before I said that they were the most truly educative institutions in India. We had also a strictly rural curriculum. The textbook was founded upon rural subjects. Of course, we did not attempt to teach in the schools practical agriculture, although we did have simple lessons on the diseases of cattle and their remedies, and irrigation and raising water and that sort of thing. But we taught them the causes of things, trying to give them an interest in the matter; there were lessons on simple botany. Our geography was based on the village and the fields and the papers of the patwari. They knew the boundaries of their fields, the acreage, the rent they had to pay; the pupils had to copy and understand portions of the patwari's registers, the *khasra* and the *jemabandi*; and we taught them very simply the law of landlord and tenant, and the parents showed great appreciation when the boys showed an intelligent knowledge of that. We used our vernacular middle schools as training schools, and very excellent they were. We also had our teachers trained at a central school of agriculture. The result was not an improvement in the agriculture of the country; you have to do that through itinerant teachers, adult instruction, and model farms. But what we did was to produce a set of people who did not want to go running off to the towns and getting secondary education, who really did take an interest in their work in the villages, and who were lovers of their country life, the sun, the rain, and the soil, and who carried on the work of agriculture and taught their children to do the same.

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The CHAIRMAN: We now can welcome our proper Chairman, Lord Hailey, who has arrived. I will ask him to speak. He has come straight from Geneva.

Lord HAILEY: I am afraid I really owe a very great apology. I only reached Victoria at 5.30. I came here at once, because I felt that whatever I did I must apologize to everyone here and must express my extreme regret that I failed to keep an engagement to preside at a meeting which was going to be addressed by my old friend Sir George Anderson.

His subject is one in which we in the Punjab took intense interest. I always felt that in the past we had never really done our duty by the rural element in the Punjab, or perhaps in the rest of India. We had failed to realize, perhaps in our preoccupation with other classes, that we were not in time taking those steps which are necessary to prevent a people—who are only just learning what it is to have a cash economy—from misusing the credit which they are able to raise on their agricultural property. Too late we awoke to the fact that the whole of our rural population was deeply indebted, and that it was getting in the hands of moneylenders; that it was being expropriated, and that something like a great and most unfortunate social change was taking place.

I mention that only as an illustration. There were many who believed that we were paying insufficient attention to the rural question. But things led us, perhaps, as I said before, to preoccupation in other matters. Now, however, in later years we had learnt our lesson. We had learnt how much injury we were doing to people by failing to realize that there was something like a rural mentality; that all the ideas, all the feelings of the country people were different from those of the townspeople.

I do not want to pit one class against the other, or to take the side of one class against the other, but the fact is that you cannot do your best for country people unless you do two things: first of all, you must try to get a real insight into their lives, and, secondly, you must as far as possible give them their own Indian officials who come from their own class. If you do not do that, then all that you can do in the way of co-operation, education, and the rest is likely to be a failure.

I have always believed that the solution of the country problem did not lie in making separate departments, a separate type of worker to deal with country people. We had a large number of departments working in India, all of them enthusiastic, all of them keen; all we needed really was some fresh attitude and some fresh direction. If we could get that, directing and inspiring the work of the departments, giving them a new attitude and a new outlook on country affairs, getting them to realize the real needs of the country people, then the departments were there and were fully capable of doing the work. All we needed was a new attitude and a new type of co-operation among them.

I do not know whether Sir George Anderson has been able to tell you that we achieved that; certainly that was our object. When I read his address I shall no doubt get new light myself on a problem which interested and troubled us all. But I have only ventured here, without

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being able to marshal my own thoughts at all—and still suffering a little from the effect of what they tell me was the worst crossing of the Channel they have had for years—to try to give you in brief outline what we felt to be the real solution of many of the problems with which we had to deal in helping the countryside.

Sir George Anderson, in his brief reply, thanked those who had taken part in the discussion for their kindly remarks about himself and the paper which he had just read.

There was now definite evidence that, in London as well as in India, there was a strong and a growing discontent against the system of education in India and its acknowledged defects and shortcomings. It was at least something that authoritative bodies such as the Universities Conference and the Central Advisory Board of Education had not only emphasized the defects but had made constructive proposals in the direction of reform and reconstruction. In particular, the Unemployment Committee in the United Provinces, of which the Right Hon. Sir Taj Bahadur Supra was the Chairman, had given a decisive lead. Public opinion in India was very different from what it had been five years ago. To that extent the position had materially changed for the Indian.

During the course of his address he expressed keen regret at the death of the late Dr. A. H. Mackenzie, which he represented as an almost irreparable loss to the cause of educational reform.

Sir Abdul Qadir: I do not rise at this late hour to add anything to the discussion on the merits of the paper, but simply to thank Sir George Anderson on behalf of this Association and all present here for the excellent paper that he has read to us, and for the thought-provoking things that he has said in it, which have evoked such a good discussion.

I wish also to thank Lord Lamington for having kindly presided over this afternoon's meeting. It was our misfortune that our Chairman today, Lord Hailey, was delayed in the circumstances that he has just now explained to us, and we were thus deprived of some of the remarks which we would have got from him on the momentous questions discussed in the paper if he had been present throughout the meeting. We are glad, however, that Lord Hailey arrived before the close of the proceedings, and we are lucky that he has given us the benefit of his ideas. We thank him for the trouble he took in rushing to this meeting in spite of his long journey from Geneva and the bad crossing which delayed his train.

The Chairman: I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of Sir George Anderson and myself. I apologize for having supplanted Lord Hailey. I am very glad he was able to appear and give us his own valuable ideas on this interesting and important question.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the vote of thanks you have just passed on behalf of Sir George Anderson and myself.

Mr. E. Batchelor, late I.C.S., writes: I heartily approve of the schemes of rural development alluded to. I do not consider their success is de-

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pendent upon improvement in the educational system. In England, as in India, the more gifted pupils quit the village for the town; are indeed helped to do so, in an increasing measure, by scholarships. The so-called "indigenous agency" of country parson, country squire, and country doctor are University products: were they middle-school products only they would not have much influence. The author has overlooked the powerful influence of the patwari on rural economy: what would the District Officer do without him?

So long as the debates in the Councils are in English, so long must the elector, if he is to have an understanding of these debates and to influence his representative, be able to understand English. I feel certain the debates will continue to be in English; consequently, under the reforms, the importance of English will increase.

The extension of industry appears to be regarded by Sir George Anderson as being independent of education. What, then, is the end of education? Is the birth of industry considered to be haphazard, to wait on spontaneous generation, or is it to be planned? At this very moment, new knowledge, the planned product of education, is opening out vast employment in Germany with new industries for the production of fuel oil, rubber, and textiles. No doubt the cost of such products is now greater than that of the natural products. But it is certain the cost of the synthetic product will fall, may perhaps become the lesser; just as that of synthetic indigo became less than that of the vegetable indigo.

It is not stated what are the "posts suitable to graduates." A sum of Rs. 5,000, with a rate of interest of 3 per cent., buys for 25 years an annuity of Rs. 300 or a monthly payment of Rs. 25. Is it reasonable for a graduate to expect more than Rs. 25 a month in excess of what a matriculate considers reasonable?

The number of unemployed graduates and matriculates is probably due largely to the growth of economic nationalism, which has materially constricted India's foreign market. There is no indication that this growth will cease; indeed, recent events have stimulated it in Italy and Germany. For long I have thought this good for the Central Provinces—and presumably the other Provinces in India—and have, indeed, endeavoured to give effect to the belief. With *laissez-faire*, trial and error methods, we shall never compete with planned activities abroad. The adoption of planned development in India should secure employment to many now regarded as unemployable. Diligence in detecting opportunities for the application of one's knowledge, and perseverance in persuading others of the value of the application when attained, are no doubt necessary and should have formed part of the student's education.

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THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

By Sir James Crerar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

The Government of India Act became law on August 2, 1935. Action still remains to be taken to implement its two main provisions—the institution of responsible government in the Provinces, and the creation of a Federal Government comprising these autonomous Provinces and the requisite proportion of Indian States acceding to the Federation.

But the Act is now on the Statute Book. The controversies which inevitably attended its passage through Parliament, bitter and prolonged as some of them were, have died down, and, in accordance with that good tradition of political common sense which has rarely deserted us, there is a general disposition in this country, even among those who considered it their duty to oppose many of the provisions of the Act, to accept it as an accomplished fact and to apply themselves to the conditions necessary to make it a success in operation. It is now possible and opportune to attempt some assessment of the prospects.

Conditions of Success

For the purposes of good government, a law of the constitution, wisely conceived and clearly expressed, is a thing to be commended, sometimes necessary, but never in itself sufficient. The first things needful are a governing authority able to make the welfare of the people its primary concern, the consent of the governed positively expressed in a sufficient measure of support and co-operation, and public services that are honest and efficient.

We have got, considering the vast complexity of its subject, the multitude of interests to be equitably provided for and the formidable task of putting down everything of importance in black and white, on the whole, a good Act. Certainly, the processes of

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enquiry and discussion were exhausted, and could have taken us no further. The Act has the merits of maintaining continuity with the past and of allowing adaptation and development in the future. So far so good.

An even more important question is whether we have got, in England and in India, a sufficient stock of political common sense and goodwill to work the Act in accordance with the wisdom and good intent of Parliament. The Act has done, and could do, little more than mark out the arena within which the living issues must be worked out and, if need be, fought out. We must not expect an era of halcyon days, undisturbed by storms of passion, prejudice or folly. In a very imperfect world the auspices at this stage might well have been less favourable. But these are the provinces of the constitutional lawyer, the statesman and other sages. I leave them, with no more than a respectful salutation, for the humbler and more familiar ground of the administrator.

The Indian Civil Service

Nothing is more certain than that the success or failure of the new régime in India, both immediately and in the ultimate account, will in large measure depend upon the maintenance of public services adequate to their enlarging responsibilities. It is to one aspect of this crucial question that I address myself. I imagine that those of us who are veterans, not perhaps without scars, of a pacific campaign, which has already lasted over a century and a half and is now entering upon a decisive phase, need not ask the indulgence of anyone acquainted with the history of Indian government for the proposition that the most direct and, in many respects, the weightiest share of these duties and responsibilities will devolve upon the Indian Civil Service.

The history of the Indian Civil Service coincides pretty nearly with the history of Great Britain as the Paramount Power in India. From the beginning it had duties which covered the whole business of government, and, in discharging them, it was brought into intimate contact with every phase of Indian life in a sense to which the government in England of the same period affords no parallel. In this close concern with the everyday life of the

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people, it anticipated by at least a generation the Civil Service in this country and in many respects it still retains this priority.

The traditions of the service, a unique and, I trust, a permanent possession, were founded by such men as Warren Hastings himself, Jonathan Duncan, Theophilus Metcalfe, and Mountstuart Elphinstone. They were carried on and carried further by a succession of distinguished men whose names, unknown or forgotten in England, are many of them remembered in obscure Indian villages with something of the veneration that is paid to the legendary heroes of the soil. Very soon we see emerge the representative types of the Indian civilian of the old school.

The Old Régime

First in order, and, I very often think, in merit, is the District Officer, "the Protector of the Poor, the Refuge of the World." He was, in his large aggregate, the most important, as he was the most familiar, *avatar* of Government. He still is, and, in my opinion, is likely to remain so for many long years. There was the Judge dispensing, often in an isolation only a degree less than that of his executive colleague, a justice to which still attached the novel peculiarity, at once reassuring and disturbing, of being impartial and incorrupt. There was the Political Officer, a rather resplendent personage, and, in his day, controlling the issues of peace and war, making or unmaking princes and potentates; or, in another manifestation, marching with armies and, in jirgas and durbars, imposing on border warriors the ways of peace.

There was the Secretary, already entrenched in files, innocent in those happier days of stenography, and already suspected of being the only begetter of the resolutions of Government that issued under his signature. There was even the expert, ready to expound the immutable and incomprehensible principles of land revenue, or to propound new ones.

There was the Member of Council, a more august figure, perhaps, than his later successors and certainly enjoying more opportunity for silence and meditation; and the Chief Commissioner, the precursor of the modern Governor, whom higher rank may

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have compensated for some diminution of independent personal authority.

These men stood for a system which they had themselves no small share in creating and which, handled as it was by them and handed on, may well be a ground of legitimate pride and an exemplar in the essential things of the spirit to the service of today and tomorrow.

In saying this, it is very far from my intention to do any disparagement to the commanding part played by the men who, already eminent in public life in England, came, as Governors or Governors-General, to hold the superior control of the system in India; or by the Governments at home who had the final authority and responsibility. All this belongs to history and is not my present business to record; and it would be especially superfluous on this occasion, when we are honoured by the presidency of the latest of a long proconsular succession, who, in three memorable and momentous terms of office, has seen far more of India and borne more of the burden and heat of the day than any of his predecessors since the days of John Company. I cannot, however, forbear to say this much, that there is no single body of men more competent to testify to the greatness of Lord Willingdon's achievement than the generation of Indian civilians who served under his auspices.

The Bureaucratic Régime

The work of the Indian Civil Service, from the assumption of direct authority by the Crown, continued to grow in scope, volume and complexity. Perhaps the most surprising fact is the extent to which it was possible, over so long a term of years, to come so near that ever-receding rainbow of the Civil Servant, Administration without Politics. As it has everywhere eluded him, so it was destined to elude anyone sanguine enough to nurse that unconquerable hope in India.

When the ideal of unperturbed, administrative efficiency reached its zenith in the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, there were already ambiguous omens on the horizon of that golden age of the bureaucracy. It is easy now, when we have found ourselves constrained to enter upon a reassessment of nearly all old values, to

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discover that the ideal of an honest, efficient and economical administration does not fulfil all even of the secular needs of human society. It never, indeed, made that pretension, but the ideal itself was not ignoble and it was never more nearly attained. There was no contemporary administration—and I speak now of the combined effort of all the public services in India—which set out to do so much and gave a better account of the resources in men and money which it could command.

I was an infant in the service when this phase was consummated, and may claim that my eulogy, if not entirely impartial, is entirely impersonal. And it is not an epitaph. It only marks an accomplished stage. It is the discernible end of a chapter; but much has since been written, and more is still to write, in the book.

I do not mean to imply that since those days there has been any decline in the fundamental standards of administration or in the capacity of the service to respond to the demands made upon it. It is not enough to say that there is of necessity a great deal that cannot be so minutely and meticulously finished. That might be no great loss, and the truth goes much beyond it. It would be as disingenuous to ignore as it would be fruitless to deplore that political and other distractions have occupied time and energy that could have been employed to much more direct and calculable profit. What, in fact, has happened is that fundamental changes have occurred in the framework within which the adminstrative machine has to work, and that the demands made upon it are not only enlarged but many of them in their nature unprecedented.

New Conditions

Of these changes, some have been gradual and continuous and are the accumulated resultant of forces already long in motion; others are due to revolutionary changes in the world order, precipitated where they were not caused by the convulsion of the war, of which India has felt the full blast; others, again, to less catastrophic but deeply operative factors which may be grouped under the comfortable but flattering name of scientific progress.

In recent years we have seen maturing with startling rapidity

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the fruits of our own political doctrines and of our own policy in India. What is more, the Indian social organism, or its aggregate of social organisms, has been more deeply penetrated by the Western impact as a whole than those who believe in an unchanging East will be willing to admit. These processes have been greatly accelerated by the advances made in mechanical invention and their introduction into India—by the motor-car, wireless telegraphy, the aeroplane, the cinema, and all the new means of production, transport and communication. And all this in the universal ferment which has dissolved everywhere in the world so much that seemed permanent and stable.

It is, in my judgment, idle to suppose that in India only a minority of the educated and the so-called politically-minded have been affected. There is hardly a village of which the immemorial routine has not been disturbed, its economy thrown into a higher gear and its ancient ways of thought side-tracked and diverted. It is, however, true, as it has been true of every country and every age, that it is the educated minority which is most directly in contact with and most receptive of new ideas; and it is equally true that it is they who come first into action in matters of politics and government, and are in the strongest position to influence the less sophisticated majority of their fellow-countrymen.

Since, therefore, the work of the Indian Civil Service has been almost coterminous with the life of India, it was inevitable that it should also change in a manner corresponding and proportionate to great alterations, not merely of environment and circumstance, but of the very substance in which it lives and moves and has its being. Changes of capital importance would have taken place even without the constitutional reforms. The Government of India Act is not in itself a primary and fundamental factor: it is rather the recognition and formulation of a new state of things which has an independent existence, like a treaty which recognizes and formulates the results of a campaign.

Their Effects upon the Administrative Services

Even if we could have had administration without politics, we should have had, unless the Indian Civil Service had proved un-

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equal to its destiny, a transformed administration. New responses had to be found to new challenges. There is the problem, set out in an acuter form than ever before in the last census of India, of the vastly increased population and its means of subsistence. Scientific developments alone would have imposed new standards of administration, even if their application had not been part of the duty of Government. In spite of the pressure of population and economic disorders, a widely diffused heightening of the standard of living has created new demands.

These things, and the rapidly extending contacts and mutual reactions between India and the whole world, themselves necessitated a new orientation of ideas and action. The growing volume and complexity of public business had already created the need for a larger number of experts, whose business should be not government at large, but some particular branch of it or even some narrower category still. And this is a tendency which must continue and develop.

The part played in a modern state by its organized public services is an historical development of which the beginning is not very far out of living memory. India, as I have pointed out, anticipated the contemporary world in having a highly organized public service which had almost the whole national life for its province. Of the old traditions of public service, I do not think there are any that are obsolete and outworn. What has become necessary is not new principles but the extension of the old to new territory, their application and adaptation to new needs and the development wherever necessary of a new technique.

I cannot conceive a more honourable task, and I take pride in the thought that in it the Indian Civil Service will play a leading part. Nothing, therefore, in my opinion, could be further from the truth than that this is a time to talk of euthanasia and epitaphs. The truth is that this is certainly a turning-point in the history of the service, but that it has never had a more absorbing field for its activity nor opportunity for greater service to India and England.

If this is true apart from the political factors, it is immeasurably more so when they are taken into account. The Government of India Act has been described as not in itself a primary, originating

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element in the new state of things, but rather as summing them up in the formula of a defined plan of action. I think that, on a general view of the Indian situation, that is true. But for the Indian Civil Service, its functions and its future, it is undoubtedly a fact of the first importance.

The New Régime

When the new régime comes fully into being, the constitutional theory and the legal provision are that, except in those spheres reserved to the Crown or to the discretionary powers of the Governor-General or Governors, the primary function of the Indian Civil Service will be to execute the policy of Indian parliamentary governments. In other words, the Indian civilian will take his orders, directly or indirectly, from a minister. That has, of course, already been the formal position for sixteen years in regard to certain spheres in the Provinces; it will now be extended to the whole sphere of government, subject to the reservations mentioned, with which the Indian civilian is normally concerned.

That is an important new fact, and it would be inadmissible to say anything that might appear to derogate from it. But it is sometimes suggested that the practical meaning of all this is that, whereas the Indian Civil Service was formerly responsible for framing as well as for executing policy, in future it will be restricted exclusively to the latter. This is not a quite accurate statement of the historical facts and does not appear a very convincing estimate of the future probabilities. It is perfectly true that in the past many Indian civilians had a large share, and, in some instances, the preponderating or sole part, in initiating policy. But at no time had they, or the service, any legal prerogative in the matter.

The constitutional and legal position, since India came directly under the Crown, was that His Majesty's Government, acting through the Secretary of State or the Secretary of State in Council, had supreme control over and responsibility to Parliament for every act, great or small, done in India in the King's name. The initiation of policy by individual civilians was merely an incident of the convenience or exigencies of government in practice. I

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take leave to doubt whether we are likely to witness any startling innovations in the practice in this respect as a consequence of the Act. An expert Civil Service, in any country which possesses one, has inevitably a great part in determining policy. In constitutional theory, the line is nowhere more strictly drawn than in England, but, in England, no minister would disown the debt he owes to the permanent official, not only in translating policy into action, but in assisting him to devise it.

Why should relations, which have been on the whole reasonably well established under provincial dyarchy, not be continued and confirmed in a wider field? The important thing is that the ministers on the one hand and the officials on the other should recognize clearly their several duties in these spheres and respect them. The most significant change in the functions of the service is likely to be simply this, that they will be even more various, more numerous and more indispensable to the national economy than ever before.

In one respect they will be at this juncture of especial importance. It is of the utmost importance that, through and beyond the transition to the new régime, normal and peaceful conditions should be preserved. In this, the District Officer and his colleague, the Police Officer, will be the key men. The district is, and is likely to remain, the cardinal unit in the whole structure of administration; assuredly not less will depend in the future than has depended in the past on the personality of its head. The courage, the energized common sense and the power of leadership, which were called for when famine and pestilence were more frequent incidents in the day's work, will yet have ample field in which to deploy. The District Officer will be, as he has usually been, in the front line of the service in discharging its principal mission in the immediate future, that of making straight and secure the ways for a new order of things in India.

Service Personnel

It is an obvious and ineluctable consequence of this view of the function of the service in the new régime, that any decline in the quality of its personnel would be most ominous for the success of

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an enterprise which, in the most favourable circumstances, will not be smooth and easy. One important change, already far advanced, in the constitution of the service is that "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration," which is a legitimate Indian claim and has for many years been the declared policy of His Majesty's Government. It is implicit in the new conditions. The paramount necessity of obtaining recruits of the best possible quality obviously applies with not less force—some will consider that it applies with greater force—to the Indian half of the quota.

Indian Recruitment

The difficulties of the problem of Indian recruitment differ in many respects from those of British recruitment.

The gravest defect of the system till recently in force was that it provided what was clearly a ridiculously small proportion of places for allotment in India. Again, one of India's major social and political problems is reflected in the necessity—which will be recognized by everyone who has had any practical experience of or responsibility for a most intricate and troublesome business—of providing against the undue predominance in the public service of any particular caste or community.

Under a scheme recently adopted, the competitive examination will continue to be the main source of recruitment both in England and in India, where there is dove-tailed into it special provision for minority communities. The under-recruitment of Indian and British officers which of late years has resulted from the defective system hitherto in force, and any future deficiencies in the recruitment of British officers by competition, will be remedied by selection. This was probably the only means of replenishing a serious temporary shortage in the cadre, but it may prove to have intrinsic merits of its own. The results will require the most vigilant observation. The Indian side of the problem is too complex and goes too deep to be capable of any simple, definitive solution.

Meantime, apart from and above these difficult technical points, there are two responsibilities which can only be discharged by

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Indians themselves. The first is that the enlarged body of Indian officers should realize that the achievement of a legitimate ambition carries with it obligations to maintain the traditions of the service, which I am confident its senior Indian members will be the first to inculcate. The second rests on public men of all communities in India, to whom the new order brings a great increment of political power. It is difficult for people in this country to realize how largely this question of posts in the public service looms in the Indian perspective, but it must be understood that it is a major issue and one of the bitterest apples of discord. If Indian public men are unable or unwilling to keep it within bounds, if they join in seeking to make the public services a bone of political contention and a spoil for the victor to exploit, they will incur the responsibility of inflicting a grave injury on the national life and political future of their country.

British Recruitment

Though the purpose of enlisting the best men is the same, British recruitment raises a different series of questions. Before any answer to them is sought, their own existence must be justified by an answer to the initial question, what special contribution is the British officer able, and alone able, to make to Indian administration? There is a sufficient answer to that question, both on the record of the past and on the present outlook.

The Indian Civil Service has been almost exclusively, and still is predominantly, British in composition. Its traditions are ultimately derived from the tradition of public service in the life of this country, though, like certain well-known vintages making the same voyage, they may even have gained something in the transit. The connection has been close and continuous, both in *moral* and men, throughout its history and many families have sent their sons to India in successive generations. I make bold to say that any severance of this connection would be an injury to both countries.

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The Rôle of the British Officer

The basic political conception of the Government of India Act is that the next phase in India's political evolution should be a partnership between Britain and India; and it is a natural corollary of that conception that part of Britain's contribution should be in men. The British officer has authentic credentials as the interpreter of the political and administrative ideas which we and, I think, a large majority of Indians desire to see prevailing there. Apart from this, in dealing with domestic controversies of all kinds in India, particularly those of a racial, religious or social complexion, the British officer, like the Podesta in an Italian City State, has inherent advantages in his manifest detachment and disinterest, which the highest personal qualities in his Indian colleague cannot entirely replace. When religious or communal feelings run high, there is no commoner demand from Indians of all classes and creeds than for the presence of a British officer on the spot, if he is not already there.

We have all known Indian officers capable of subordinating what may, and, in the popular mind, will infallibly be supposed to, be his private sympathies to his public duties. It is not so much a question of personality as of intractable facts, and there must be a greater change in the disposition of internal forces and conditions in India than is yet in prospect before this will cease to be the case. Communal discord is perhaps the greatest obstacle and danger to a democratic form of government in India. It will not be resolved by the occasional intervention of a third party to prevent or suppress its more violent manifestations. It will be resolved only when a sense of their ultimate common responsibility brings the contending parties together to compose, on a basis of mutual interest and toleration, their own *modus vivendi*. In the interval—and it is likely to be a long interval—the British officer has an indispensable part to play, moderating, conciliating and endeavouring to promote settlements progressively more stable. And it is a part which he can play in wider and more fruitful fields than the gloomy and barren ground of racial or religious animosity.

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But if considerations of this kind constitute the main justification for the recruitment of the British officer, it becomes all the more important that the best men should be attracted. I suppose that a young man making the momentous choice of his career will naturally consider the character of the work it entails, the security of his service, its emoluments and its amenities.

Security

A great deal has already been said about the character of the work. Of the rest, I shall speak first of security, though I doubt if it would have that precedence in the mind of the type of young man we want. The Indian Civil Service never was a career for any man whose instinct in life and conduct was for safety first. I hope it never will be. But the more solicitous minds of parents and guardians have been not unnaturally agitated. Of course there are risks, but the sum total is not greater than would be entailed in any career of equal honour and opportunity. The Indian Civil Service has precise, specific, statutory guarantees, such as do not exist, so far as I am aware, for any other service in the Empire. I do not think, for example, that a man has much cause to complain if his salary is as secure as those of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. The statutory safeguards could hardly have gone further without the risk of falling by their own weight.

But apprehensions and suspicions have found expression that these statutory safeguards might be defeated. That, presumably, would occur, in the first instance, in India. Apart from the injustice, as I believe it to be, to the common sense and common honesty of the effective body of Indian public opinion, the Governors and Governors-General in India, who have special responsibilities in these matters, must be supposed accomplices in this conspiracy. Governments in this country must be supposed capable of joining in such a betrayal and capable of surviving it. The ultimate resort is to the people of this country. If public opinion here were ever of a temper to allow such a repudiation of public engagements, much more would be lost on that Mohacz field than the Indian Civil Service.

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Emoluments and Amenities

In the matter of emoluments, the average prospects are probably better than they were thirty years ago. The officer of British domicile starts at £540 a year and rises to £2,385 before he is fifty. Many go on, at an earlier age, to such posts as the Commissionership of a division on £2,860 or a secretaryship to Government, ranging from £2,610 to £3,600. Eight out of eleven governorships are now held by Indian civilians. Considering the nature of his duties, the penalties of expatriation and the relatively higher scale of expenditure that service in India entails, I do not consider that the Indian civilian is overpaid. But if young men of today, who have to rely solely on their own ability, character and accomplishment, can easily find a more attractive offer, they are a more fortunate generation than, so far as I can discover, they believe themselves to be.

Of the amenities of service, I suppose the most important are connected with health and recreation. In health the vast improvement made in recent years is illustrated by the death rate per mille among British troops in India, which was 69 in 1859, 20 in 1875, 13 in 1900 and 2·44 in 1933. Insurance companies, which deal with average chances, no longer charge for Indian risk.

The likely candidate will probably be more interested in the choice open to him of pursuits outside his official work. It would be difficult to imagine anywhere in the world a greater variety of attraction. Sport, travel and adventure, or art, philosophy, history and science, in each India has to offer not merely a reasonable gratification, but something *in excelsis* for anyone who has in himself the necessary temperament and quality to pursue it.

These intrinsic attractions will have more effect on the quality of the new entry than any system of recruitment. My own impression is that those which will weigh most are not emoluments or security, but the character of the work to be done and the environment, the other interests of life, the background of duty in the field or at the desk. It would be no disparagement to a young man that he should have hopes of recognition and rewards for good service in a career which may quite likely entail danger and

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hardship and will certainly demand strenuous effort during the best years of his life. But I believe the strongest inducement for the best men will be the work to be done. The question will be, not whether it is a soft job, nor whether it is safe, nor whether it pays, but whether it is worth while. In the disordered world we live in, two things, at any rate, are eminently worth while: with the defence services, to secure our liberties and our conceptions of a free and rational way of life; and with the Indian Civil Service, to vindicate their value.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, December 8, 1936, when a paper entitled "The Future of the Indian Civil Service" was read by Sir James Crerar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. The Most Hon. the Marquess of Willingdon, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., was in the Chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Reginald Spence, Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hubert Carr, K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Hugh Stephenson, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Arthur Knapp, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.B.E., Sir Philip Buckland, Sir Benjamin Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Herbert Pearson, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir William and Lady Baker, Lady Kerr, Lady Pinhey, Lady Stokes, Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh, Mr Stanley Rice, Mr F. J. P. Richter, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Lindsay, Mr. and Mrs. K. K. Lalkaka, Mr. S. N. Bakar, Mrs. Alan Izat, Miss Crerar, Mr. T. G. Evers, Mr. S. N. Biswas, Mr. J. C. Bagram, Dr. S. G. Vesey-FitzGerald, Mr. G. N. Dusvedi, Mr. B. D. Sanwal, Mrs. Damry, Mr. D. C. Oomrigar, Mr. S. T. Ali, Mr. R. A. Wilson, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. W. F. J. Frank, Miss F. Leatherdale, Mr. G. H. Ormerod, Mrs. O. Rothfield, Mr. G. F. K. Adams, Mr. H. Harris, Mrs. W. Lamb, Miss Gunter, Mr. Harold Dunning, Mrs. E. Hapsburg-Fothringen, Mr. Hilton Brown, Miss M. T. Drake, Mr. A. M. Trethewy, Mr. Ali Asgher, Mr. L. H. V. French, Mrs. Percy Brown, Mrs. Blake, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. B. Hay, Mr. R. G. C. Davison, Mr. K. C. Mehta, Mrs. Madelay, Mr. and Mrs. Robertson, Mr. F. W. Robertson, Miss R. Harrison, Mr. G. B. N. Hartog, Miss N. H. Hill, Mr. M. Lal, Dr. J. F. Lydall, Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami A. Mudalair, Mrs. R. D. Clinton-Thomas, Mr. J. Lambert Brown, Mr. Tarlok Singh, Miss Hill, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Lord WILLINGDON said: I am sorry to have to inform you of certain casualties to gentlemen who were coming here, and very important gentlemen, who were going to follow the lecturer in the discussion on this important subject. Lord Hailey has telephoned that he is ill in bed and unable to come; Sir George Cunningham, who, as you all know, is going to be the new Governor of the North-West Frontier Province, and Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, are also unavoidably absent; and Mr. Hallett, who is to be the new Governor of Orissa, has another engagement. We all very much regret their absence from our meeting this evening.

You will not expect more than a very few words from me in introducing Sir James Crerar. Most of you are aware of the brilliant work he did in the Indian Civil Service. I have another particular reason for being

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extremely brief this evening. It was only a few weeks ago that I had the privilege of taking the chair at the United Services Institution for a lecture that was being given by my old friend and colleague, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode. In my introductory remarks I said some rather nice things about my experiences of close association with the lecturer. When he spoke he made some rather nice remarks with regard to his association with me. At the end of Sir Philip's lecture a gentleman in the audience rose and made the observation that he had come to hear a lecture about the Army in India, and it seemed to be a matter of mutual admiration between Sir Philip Chetwode and Lord Willingdon. Now the position is somewhat the same this evening, so far as I am concerned. Sir James Crerar and I have been closely and intimately associated together at important periods in my administrative life in India. He was my Private Secretary in Bombay during the Great War and rendered me invaluable assistance and loyal help during those critical and arduous years. And when I went back to India as Viceroy I found him as Home Member at Delhi and Simla. He again rendered me invaluable assistance in the two first years of my Viceregal life, which were the two most difficult and most trying years that I ever had during my long terms of public service overseas. But I am not going to say a word about the qualities of Sir James, because I do not want anyone to get up in the audience and make an observation similar to that I have mentioned. I will merely say that, knowing his qualities, knowing very well his intense loyalty and devotion to the great Service of which he has been such a distinguished member, I am sure that we shall all listen to his lecture with the greatest interest and that we shall receive a very sound and well-reasoned opinion of the future of the Civil Service.

Sir James Crerar: I should desire, in the first instance, my Lord, to acknowledge, however inadequately, the very kind words in which you have introduced me to this audience. And I would only say on that point—for I cannot fully express my gratitude—that, during those difficult and arduous days to which you refer, many of us had indeed responsibilities to discharge which would have been very nearly intolerable had we not had the fullest assurance of sympathetic counsel and the most unwavering support.

(Sir James then delivered his lecture.)

Lord Willingdon: I am told that I am to say a few words after the very interesting lecture to which we have listened. I have more than once since I returned home from India expressed my views, I hope very clearly, as to the value of the great work done by the Indian Civil Service and its prospects for the future; but perhaps after this most interesting lecture, and in the presence of so many distinguished Civil Servants here, I had better restate those views in a few considered words.

I have at least this advantage that I can speak of the Service and of its members, past and present, in terms which modesty forbids you to employ. And I have this further advantage that the position which I occupied in India enabled me, at any rate to some extent, to take the part of an observer rather than that of a protagonist. It is a truism that the actors themselves

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are usually less able to appreciate the excellence of their performance than those who sit and watch the play; and while I hope that I was never merely a spectator, I may have been able at times to achieve a greater measure of detachment than was possible for you who, in your several rôles, had little opportunity to consider the part you were playing or whether you played it ill or well. There may have been times when you all felt that your efforts were in vain; that the changes which time and the spread of democratic principles have wrought in India were such as to undermine the prestige of your Service and to stultify the labours of successive generations of Indian Civil Servants. But I am convinced that few of you held this opinion for long, and that even those who were most strongly opposed to the constitutional changes which have taken place must, on mature consideration, have appreciated the fact that in carrying out the policy of Parliament in regard to those changes, the Indian Civil Service has set the seal upon its reputation as being the finest Service in the world. In particular, I cannot speak too highly of the loyalty and devotion of those Indian Civil Servants who, while they felt that the constitutional changes of the past twenty years were, if not ill-conceived, at least premature and too rapid, and while they were in a position to retire from the Service on well-earned pension, have nevertheless, in their realization of the fact that as servants of the Crown it was their duty to carry out unquestioningly the declared policy of Parliament, remained faithfully at their posts and laboured to give this great constitutional experiment a fair trial. To them, and to all of you who are no longer in the Service, I appeal to continue the work which you have so well begun, and, realizing that the presence of an efficient and impartial Civil Service in India is essential if the experiment is to succeed, to assist the measures which are being taken to ensure a steady flow of recruits worthy to follow after the great Indian Civil Service administrators of the past. Far be it from me to suggest that any man should enter the Indian Civil Service at this time who does not appreciate fully the difficulties—and they are very real difficulties—with which he will have to contend. But I say emphatically that where these difficulties are clearly understood and where the candidate is conscious of a real desire to serve in India, no obstacle should be put in his way, no effort should be made to dissuade him.

Sir James Crerar has described very clearly the safeguards provided for the Services by the Government of India Act of 1935; I would not dwell upon the completeness of these safeguards, though they are as complete as forethought can make them, nor on the attractive status and emoluments which the Service affords, though no other Imperial Service offers better attractions. It is the opportunity of a career which allows a man to give the best that is in him in service of real value to India and the Empire that should, I submit, be stressed. The Act of 1935 has given, I believe, to a vast Continent a unique opportunity to work out its salvation as a willing partner in the Empire. But it is for the youth of Great Britain to see that it supplies an essential ingredient in the administration of the country. Whatever the prospective changes in the Indian policy, the great tradition of administration must be maintained, not only in regard to peace and order, but in the improvement of rural and urban conditions. The Indian Civil

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Service of the future must continue to furnish its contribution towards sound and intelligent administration, without which no constitutional advance in India can promote the happiness of her people. These, ladies and gentlemen, are my considered views on the future of the Indian Civil Service. (Applause.)

Dr. VESEY-FITZGERALD said: When Mr. Brown invited me to take part in this discussion I did not realize that I would be placed in the extremely embarrassing position of speaking immediately after your Lordship. Sir James Crerar has expressed a hope that the enlarged body of Indian officers should realize that "the achievement of a legitimate ambition carries with it obligations to maintain the traditions of the Service." As a teacher I have had thirteen years' intimate experience of Indian probationers; and I can assure him that (though, of course, there have been a few disappointments) they do, as a body, fully realize the greatness of those traditions and are determined to uphold them.

Not long ago I was seated at a private luncheon next to a very distinguished member of the Home Civil Service who was sent out to India in an exalted position during the war. In the course of conversation he spoke of his experiences, as a war-time administrator, of his own Service and mine. Both in England and in India under the stress of war there was a constant demand for men to undertake previously unheard-of responsibilities. According to him (I have no authority to give his name) the Home Civil Servant, unrivalled though he might be in his own speciality, was usually unfitted (and conscious of his own unfitness) to undertake duties differing even slightly from his normal course. The Indian Civil Service, on the other hand, could always be relied upon to throw up a man ready to undertake the most unfamiliar duties at a moment's notice and to make good.

So far as this is a criticism of the Home Civil Service, I could not help thinking that its author's own career, at any rate, was one brilliant example to the contrary. As an appreciation of the I.C.S. I do not quote it in an audience which appears to consist mainly of members of the Service and their wives merely as something gratifying to our pride. Such adaptability has always been one of the ideals of the Service; and if as a Service we achieve it, it is worth while to ask on what that achievement rests. It rests, I think, on two grounds.

First, the training of the young civilian is largely legal and judicial. A large part of his time is spent in Court, construing enactments, hearing both sides, deciding issues. He has, in fact, something of the same training which makes the lawyer the man to undertake new responsibilities in England.

But more important is the fact that from an early stage in his Service an Indian Civil Servant is discharging in a less distinguished sphere the functions of a Governor or a Chief Justice. He is not merely a specialized administrator like a Home Civil Servant, nor "doing everything off his own bat," as he might be in the less developed African colonies: he is the captain of a team which includes, it may be, officers as able, as keen, and as expert as himself: and unless he can bring to his job not only expert

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knowledge, but also breadth of vision, he cannot be their leader. Further, if he is to be a success as a District Officer, whether Collector or Judge, he must have something of that power of supporting his officers when they deserve support and of winning their personal loyalty, which you, my Lord, have so conspicuously exhibited on a larger stage.

It need hardly be pointed out that these two aspects of a civilian's life have a permanent value which politically-minded India is not likely to destroy. Even on the revenue side a large part of the work must always be judicial in character: and there must always be heads of districts to co-ordinate and lead the officers in the district.

Mr. Mudalair: As I listened to the speech of Sir James Crerar there was one regret present in my mind: that in the days when I sat in the Legislative Assembly opposite Sir James I did not find myself as wholeheartedly in agreement with what he said as I find myself today. The fault was, of course, mine; and let me tell Sir James a fact, if he has not already heard it from my colleagues, that whatever we stated in debate, whatever views we expressed different from, and antagonistic to, those of the Home Member, there was one thought among the members in the lobbies and behind the official screen: that, so far as Sir James Crerar was concerned, in every speech he made, in every act he was responsible for, he was animated by the highest ideals of integrity, honesty, and strict devotion to duty as he conceived it in the best interests of the country he served.

Let me address myself to the speech delivered this evening. I find myself, as I have already said, so much in agreement with the sentiments he has expressed that I think it would be a work of supererogation if I were to refer to many of the aspects of the future of the Services to which he has adverted. I should like, however, to emphasize only one or two aspects of that future. There is an impression abroad that under the new Constitution the Civil Servant may not have the same opportunities of service, particularly in initiating or directing the policy of the administration, and that his share in the future governance of the country would not be anywhere near that of the past generation of Civil Servants. The generation of Sir James Crerar and those before him did great things for the country. Among political circles in India, when the acrimony of political and partisan controversy does not unduly obtrude, there is a very lively realization of this fact. But I venture to think that those who feel that the Indian Civil Service, that *corps d'élite*, will in the future be a purely ministerial service, carrying out blindly the orders of some mysterious superiors, adopting the slogan "theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do" and pass on—I think that they are miscalculating the trend of future events in India.

We in India (and I believe I can speak for the overwhelming majority of my countrymen), perhaps owing to the connection we have had with the British Empire, have come to believe that democracy is the best form of government. And the history of recent events in various countries has only confirmed our belief and drawn us nearer the British system of democracy. If we are right in that belief, we must necessarily realize the part that a permanent Civil Service will play in such a democracy. What happens in

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this country may happen in India under the new Constitution, and has been happening to a limited extent in the provinces during the last sixteen years.

The policy that a Ministry puts forward or takes credit for is often the policy that has been thrashed out by the Service. The Ministry have not had the special training which the Civil Servant has had, nor the accumulated experience often of a Civil Servant, and they must necessarily have the assistance of that Civil Service in choosing that policy, and frequently they will have this new policy placed before them by the Civil Servant. The ultimate decision is, of course, that of the Ministry, and in this limited sense the Civil Servant will not be responsible for policy. But it is obvious that in fact and virtually the Civil Servant will still lay down policy or alter it. Nor is that all. While in form the Civil Servant may appear to lose, in substance he is much the gainer, for he will no longer be liable to those attacks in the legislatures to which he has been subject owing to the notion that he was responsible for the policy of the administration.

If I may speak from my limited experience of provincial ministries in charge of transferred subjects, this has exactly been what has been happening under the Montford Reforms. I have noted that where a Civil Servant is serving under an executive councillor who was himself a member of the Service, he did not feel quite so free in giving advice as when he served under a non-official executive councillor or a Minister. And the reason is obvious. The civilian member of Government has all the experience of his secretary and a little more—or rather he is expected to have; whereas in the other case the knowledge and experience of the Service secretary are invaluable to a Minister or non-official member. I therefore look forward to the time when the power of the Civil Service to direct policy from behind the scenes will grow instead of diminishing, when Ministers will rely more and more on the Civil Service to enable them to formulate policy which will do them credit, and when, above all, that finest of traditions of the British democracy, continuity of policy, without sudden and cataclysmic changes, will be observed by Indian Ministers largely through the able assistance of Civil Servants.

One last word before I close. I referred to the past generation of Civil Servants who lived and worked in rural areas and did service to the unlettered masses. They were supposed to be not in sympathy with the educated classes, but were often described as the father and mother of that rural population. They have tried to look after the welfare of these masses of the people and to be their guides, philosophers, and friends. To the coming generation of Civil Servants a work not less but more complex and more fascinating will be entrusted : the task of guiding the very intelligentsia of the country, of interpreting correctly to them the limits and limitation of democracy as well as its rights and privileges, and of enabling the future administrators of India to so discharge their functions that what has been termed this great experiment of democracy for a fifth of the human race may be a glorious success redounding as much to the credit of Great Britain as of India.

Who that knows the traditions of the Indian Civil Service will doubt that it will rise equal to the new expectations, and that the new chapter of

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its history will be even more glorious than those which have gone before?

Mr. C. A. Kincaid: Sir James Crerar is an old friend of mine, and he made a charming eulogy of the Service to which I have the honour to belong. But there was one most important department he left out, and that was the Judicial Department. For one reason or another, the Executive Department for many years in India refused to recognize that a knowledge of the law was in any way essential for the duties of a judge. I remember quite well a member of the Executive Department, afterwards a member of the Bombay Government, said in the Viceroy's Council that he wished that the Civil Procedure Code, the Evidence Act, and every other Act was thrown into the waste-paper basket and that every civil suit was tried by an assistant collector camped under a banyan tree. That was in the nineties. Every proposal to improve the training of the Judicial Department was set aside, and it was laid down that if a man became a barrister it must be at his own expense, and that he should not expect promotion if he became one. Any idea of assisting judges to become barristers was severely sat on, and it was not until 1910, when I happened to be eating my dinners for the Bar, that I learned how the Consular Service helped its members to become barristers, and I was able to go to Sir Steyning Edgerley and propose to him the system which was afterwards introduced. Many other improvements have been made, and I am very glad that under Sir Basil Scott and Sir Norman Macleod, Chief Justices of Bombay, a regular system of training has been introduced. But what I want to say is that all this should have come fifty years before, and the whole weight of criticism which has been laid against the Indian Civil Service has generally been on this point. Able Indian barristers and able judges against whose judgment appeals were heard by the members of the Civil Service could see that the gentlemen who heard their appeals were unequal to the task that they performed. I venture to say that one of the most important things for the future success of the reform scheme is that the Viceroy's Government in India should not neglect the fact that if they want to command respect for the Civil Service in India, they have got to see that the men who preside over their Courts are not only able men, honest men, and loyal men, but trained men, too. (Applause.)

Mr. K. K. Lalkaka: I do hope the few words I have to say will not provoke any of you too much. There is much with which every one of us will be in agreement in what Sir James Crerar said in his able paper, and, my Lord, nobody could but be in entire agreement with what you said in your few considered words. Nevertheless, there are one or two facts, incontrovertible facts, explanation of which might assist us today. For the past two or three years there has been a particular disinclination on the part of the best men from the British universities to go into the Indian Civil Service. Why is it so? That question, I think, Sir James Crerar would do well to answer. The Indian Civil Service has not only done great good to India, but it has been the envy of the world. Yet nowadays it is considered that where brains and character ruled so efficiently, ballot-boxes can do the same.

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Sir James Crerar suggested we should have some faith in the common-sense of the new electorate in India and the small section of its vast population which is politically-minded. In what I am going to say now I make one exception, that of Diwan Bahadur Mudalair, who is here with us, because I have always felt, following his public utterances and activities in India, that he does not speak the language or think the thoughts of most of the Indian politicians.

Now, the question arises as to what is going to be the position of the future Civil Servants. For that we have corroborative evidence provided by the Bengal Civil Service memorial of last year to the Secretary of State for India, as endorsed by the All-India Civil Service Association, in which words to the following effect appeared—and I am quoting from memory—that, while the position of the Indian Civil Service in India is at present very difficult, in the future it will become intolerable.

A question that has been agitating the minds of the Government here in England is how to secure the very best brains and how to have the continuity of the very best young men of families who have a tradition for service in India—I mean the Anglo-Indian of the old type, who felt that from father to son he had some connection with India and of which he was intensely proud—to serve in India under new conditions, because it must not be forgotten that the Indian Civil Servant of about twenty years ago was an administrator and not a mere bureaucrat, as he will be under the new dispensation. After all, his seat of office was not in a room with four walls, but in his saddle; that, alas! has changed. While some of us feel that the Government of India Act of 1919 was about twenty years ahead of the times, the present Act is at least fifty years ahead of the times. That is what is causing us the greatest misgivings, because it will be a sad day not only for Great Britain, not only for India, but for the Empire if this fine Service, which has taken so long to build up and which has given so many traditions to all other services, would gradually find itself deprived of the best that Great Britain can provide.

If the Indian Empire, and for that matter the whole of the British Empire, is not gradually to be disintegrated, it is very necessary that only the very best should go out to serve in India and other dependencies. I would, therefore, ask Sir James Crerar to shed some light on this matter and to tell us what should be done to attract the best type of young men to go into the Indian Civil Service. It has been said that in the past the Civil Servant served by ruling, and now he will have to rule by serving. But, let me ask, who is he going to serve: experienced men, men of equal ability both in intellect and character; or are we going to have any kind of material who will fish for office and will be pushed into office? There are people who say that their instinct tells them all will go well, but it is not a question of instincts. For instance, Lord Irwin's instinct told him that when Gandhi carried on the salt campaign he should let him go on with it, because soon the common-sense of the people would bring him into ridicule. Instead of that it nearly wrecked the Government of India. Moreover, I do wish to take this opportunity as a citizen and as one born in India to acknowledge the tremendous debt that every decent, right-thinking man owes to the Civil

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Service, and particularly to the British element in the Civil Service, which has done so much for India; in fact, it might be said that to them it has been given to bequeath to another race the best that any one group of mankind could bequeath to others.

Sir HUGH STEPHENSON: I had not intended to make a speech this afternoon, but the last speaker has brought me to my feet. I am not likely to disagree in any way with what Sir James Crerar said as to the work done in the past by the Service or as to the absolute necessity of the continuance of the Service in the future. Nor am I in the least likely to wish to say anything to deter recruits from joining that Service. My own son comparatively recently elected to join the Service. He said to me, "It is no use your telling me that the life now of the Indian Civil Servant is not what it was forty years ago: all I want to know is whether it is a good enough life for me now," and he decided it was. I saw him six weeks ago, and I have it straight from him that he considered the life was good enough and he had no regrets whatever for joining. That, I think, is the opinion of his contemporaries.

But there are two dangers which may perhaps explain the doubts of the last speaker. Under the new Constitution one of the greatest dangers, to start with, as I see it, is that of the Legislature usurping executive functions. There have been instances of this already in the past, and in my last speech to my own Council in Burma I ventured to warn them of the prospect in the future. Unless that is definitely checked, it would do more to smash the Civil Service than anything else if the Legislature is allowed to usurp the functions of the Executive, instead of confining itself to seeing that the Executive carry out the policy approved by the Legislature. The second danger which I think is in the minds of a certain number of people has been touched on by one speaker—that is, the danger of specialization. This is the age of specialists and experts, but how far is specialization consistent with the continued existence of the present system of the Indian Civil Service? If we have specialists in all departments, we lose that general utility training to which the speaker referred. I think that there are some doubts in the minds of a great number of people as to whether the specialization that is likely to come in the near future does not contain the germs of a good deal of danger.

Sir JAMES CRERAR: I think that I should very ill requite the kind indulgence with which you have listened to me for so long a time if at this somewhat late hour I trespassed any further upon your patience. I should only like to acknowledge the very kindly terms in which Mr. Mudalair referred to the occasions when we sat on opposite benches in the Indian Legislature, and, for my own part, I can say, with the most complete truth and candour, that I cannot remember any single occasion on which Mr. Mudalair and I met in debate—I cannot remember any single occasion on which Mr. Mudalair used any language or embarked upon any course of action which could be regarded by his opponent as in any way derogating from the strictest rules of parliamentary chivalry and courtesy. (Applause.)

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I was inclined to congratulate myself rather unexpectedly on the fact that, although I was conscious that I had some ground to tread upon beneath the ashes of which there were still some of the red smouldering remnants of acute controversy—I was inclined to congratulate myself that very little of that controversy has been reflected in the interesting and to me instructive discussion which has ensued. With regard to what fell from Mr. Lalkaka, I think I can sympathize with him to a very great extent. I can remember when I was a very young officer being in charge of a district which was almost entirely devoid of telegraphs, had very few railways, and in four days' march you could get not only from the possible inopportune interference of our Provincial Government, but even from local headquarters, and I enjoyed that very much indeed. After six or seven hours in the saddle I have dispensed a kind of justice from which I am sure the judicial soul of Mr. Kincaid would have recoiled in horror. I hope that the people among whom I exercised these somewhat primitive arts of government were themselves not dissatisfied. But that, after all, was something more than thirty years ago. If we could all return to the arcadian simplicity of one's youth and stay there—well, perhaps dreams of that kind may be attractive, but are they practicable even in this country? I think Mr. Lalkaka will agree that there are many who would willingly go back to conditions which obtained in this country a generation ago. But the wheels of time move on, and we have got to deal with the situation as we have it.

That, I think, is all I shall have to say in reply, except one thing. I could not, of course, attempt to cover in the brief space of a little over half an hour the whole territory of so enormous a subject, but I am sure that the ladies and gentlemen present will weigh very carefully the very sagacious words which fell from Sir Hugh Stephenson, a man who speaks with the authority of one who has discharged the duties of a Governor in very recent times in India, and discharged them in such a manner as to add a new lustre to the Service to which he belonged. (Applause.) The words he used, the warnings he uttered are profoundly true, and I trust they will be weighed carefully in India, because, upon those two points on which he touched, very much for the future depends. I conclude by thanking you once more for the kindness and the patience with which you have heard me.

Lord Lamington: It would be very unbecoming of us if we separated before expressing our thanks to Sir James Crerar for his carefully thought out paper, which ought to encourage the young men of this country to try and enter the Indian Civil Service in the future. He alluded to the efficiency of the old form of administration in the more autocratic days. I might emphasize that. I do not believe the world has ever known an administration conducted on such lines of honest administration as the old Indian Civil Service. It was marvellous in my opinion how high a standard of honour that Service had. There is no reason why those traditions should not be continued under the new form of government. As regards the new Constitution, we have it from Lord Willingdon's expression of satisfaction that every care has been taken to give encouragement to the young men of this country to elect for service in India, and his view that there is no good

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reason why they should not enter the Indian Civil Service in future. I do think we should hearten our young men to take up work in India if they can possibly go.

We are very grateful to Sir James for this address, and also to Lord Willingdon, whose wonderful achievements in India have won the admiration of his countrymen over here. We have been honoured by his presence in the chair this afternoon, and his words should have the effect of stimulating young men to compete for the Indian Civil Service for the good of the Empire and the good of India generally. I beg you by acclamation to show your appreciation of the address given to us by Sir James Crerar, and also of Lord Willingdon's kindness in occupying the chair this afternoon.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation and the meeting closed.

Mr. E. Batchelor, late I.C.S., writes :

The reasons adduced in the paper appear to me inadequate for concluding that a change of form of government is necessitated by the changes in Indian conditions in recent years. In Germany and Italy much the same changes have taken place as in India; but there the very reverse process has happened: parliamentary government has been abolished. As regards security of service, I am convinced that the safeguard which transcends all others is that of maintaining the number of British officers in the Indian Civil Service and Police. The decrease in the British element necessitates that the balance be redressed, so far as may be, by raising the quality of recruits in respect of physique. Qualifications needed for selection might well include those required in an officer in the Army and training in an O.T.C. I agree with the author that the district will continue as the cardinal unit of the whole structure of administration. It is, as he recognizes, essential to increase the annual wealth of India, especially the agricultural wealth. The district officer is in the best position to know the resources, actual and potential, of his district. And India naturally looks to him to take the initiative. But this necessitates relief from the burden of mere routine work and an increase in the number of districts.

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THE HYDERABAD CIVIL SERVICE

By Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Chenevix Trench
(Late Revenue and Police Member, H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council)

Every system of civilized government in the world, whether autocratic or democratic, depends in the long run on the efficiency, loyalty and integrity of its permanent officials, more especially of those whose work brings them in close touch with the common people. Nowhere is this more true than in a country where the standard of general education is low. It is this consideration that invests the Civil and Police Services with the paramount importance attached to them in the future Constitution of India. If it is only of late that the Indian Police may be said to have come into its own, the Indian Civil Service has, for over a century, been recognized by most critics of British rule, however hostile, as the finest agency of government known to history. With the example of British India before them it is, therefore, no matter for surprise that some of the richer and larger Indian States should have built up Civil Services of their own on a regular and constitutional basis, but it may not be generally known how successful their efforts in this direction have been. If this article deals only with the Hyderabad Civil Service, it is not because it is claimed to be superior to that of Mysore and other States, but because it is the only one of which the writer has intimate knowledge.

The standard of any Service must in its turn depend to some extent on the size and revenues of the State it serves. For only a rich State can afford to pay its officers salaries sufficient to attract the best men, and only a large one requires the extensive cadres without which a reasonable flow of promotion cannot be maintained or transfers readily affected. In both respects Hyderabad is fortunate, since its income, area and population are on a Provincial scale. It is also fortunate, more so possibly than the majority of Indian States, in possessing a highly educated upper and upper middle class, in which the habit of rule, handed down from the Mogul era, has for generations been inherent. But though these advantages have long existed it was left to His Exalted Highness the present Nizam to make the fullest use of them and to invest the Hyderabad Civil Service with the prestige and respect that now attach to it.

It is unnecessary to follow the development of the Civil Service

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through the vicissitudes of the last twenty years. Patronage everywhere dies hard, but, so far as the Service is concerned, it may for all intents and purposes be said to have been eliminated in the Nizam's Dominions. The first blow to it was struck when His Exalted Highness decreed that at least 50 per cent. of all vacancies in the gazetted ranks of the non-technical Departments should be filled from the Service, and when recruitment to the latter was made dependent on merit and on merit alone. The old bogies of "Rishwat Jung" and "Safarish Jung"* no longer survive to deter any ambitious young Hyderabadi who wishes to serve his country. Moreover, although in theory only 50 per cent. of gazetted vacancies must be earmarked for Civilians, it is becoming more and more the tendency to exceed this figure and to close the familiar "direct recruitment" back-door into the gazetted cadres by filling all the remaining vacancies by promotion from below. The system of recruitment is one of competition tempered by selection. Early every year the various Departments are asked to say how many vacancies for Civilians they expect to have thirty months or so ahead. The Revenue Department, whose requirements are usually the largest, including, as it does, the Customs and Excise Departments, may indent for three; the Judicial Department for two; the Finance and Police Departments for one apiece; while on occasion the Municipal, Commerce and Industry and Printing Departments may foresee a vacancy. Notices are then issued calling upon all eligible candidates to present themselves before a Selection Committee on an appointed day. The Committee, which is presided over by the Finance Member, includes two other Members of Council, the Chief Justice and the Director of Public Instruction. Candidates must be physically fit and be between the ages of twenty and twenty-three, but in the case of men with European qualifications the latter limit is extended to twenty-five. They must also be Hyderabadis, either by birth or by long residence in the State, and must produce evidence as to character. As regards academic qualifications, a University degree is essential. Many of the young men who appear before the Committee are LL.D.'s or have graduated with first-class Honours at the Bombay, Aligarh, Madras or Osmania Universities. They represent the pick of Hyderabad youth. Each of them is interviewed separately by the Committee, which selects from them a number equivalent to about five times the number of anticipated vacancies. In doing so it takes

* The Persian words "Rishwat" and "Safarish" signify respectively a bribe and a recommendation. In matters of appointments a recommendation is synonymous with influence. "Jung" is the suffix attached to the names of those on whom H.E.H. confers the title of Nawab. In the old days it was a standing joke to say that Rishwat Jung and Safarish Jung were the most powerful personages in the State.

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into account every candidate's scholastic record, his family claims and his personality. Much weight is given to the personal asset. A good all-round athlete, or a man who has played football or cricket for his college, or who has distinguished himself as a monitor or Scout leader, even though he may only boast a Pass degree, stands as good a chance of selection as another candidate with first-class Honours but who has little else to commend him. The approved candidates are then sifted down to the required number by means of a competitive examination in Urdu, English and "present day" knowledge, the result of which is to get for the Civil Service the best men of a good bunch.

A year's residence in the Hyderabad Civil Service House follows. Here the successful candidates live, work and play under the charge of a senior official who is chosen principally for his tact and capacity for moulding the character of young men of their age, and who is usually a married Englishman from Oxford or Cambridge. While in residence they receive instruction in the general principles of administration, are taught to ride, and get any rough corners they may have rubbed off. Periodical reports as to their progress are submitted by the Superintendent to Government, and at the end of twelve months the use they have made of their time is tested by an examination in Economics, Jurisprudence, the Indian Penal and Civil Procedure Codes, the Contract and Evidence Acts, and, excluding Urdu, one of the three languages most widely spoken in the Dominions, viz. Telegu, Mahratta or Kanarese. Those who obtain the necessary percentage of marks in the various papers then reappear before the Selection Committee and are sounded regarding the Departments for which they have a preference. So far as the vacancies admit the Committee endeavours to meet their wishes, but is careful to see that round pegs are not put into square holes and to avoid allotting a man who is obviously cut out, let us say, for the Bench, to the Revenue Department. Occasionally a little heart-burning results, but all candidates are well aware, when they first appear before the Committee, that they have ultimately to abide by its decision in the above respect.

The chrysalis stage is now over and candidates leave the Civil Service House as Hyderabad Civilians in embryo. Before, however, they join up they are sent for a year to British India, where they receive, in their respective Departments, the same training and exercise the same powers as recruits to the Indian Civil Service. This training, needless to say, is of the greatest value, and the State is under a deep debt of gratitude to the local Governments for the thorough and careful grounding they give to young Hyderabad Civilians in all aspects of their future duties. By no one is it more appreciated than by the Civilians themselves, who

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return from British India not only qualified to assume their responsibilities as gazetted officers, but imbued with ideals of service which they are eager to put into practice and which promise to remain with them through life. At the conclusion of their training they are required to pass in British India the same Departmental examinations as are prescribed for officers of their standing in the analogous all-India Services and often do so with distinction. It may incidentally be mentioned that they create a very good impression in the social circles they frequent there.

It is no exaggeration to say that outside British India no finer official career is open to the young Indian than the Hyderabad Civil Service. The scales of pay in the State are, not unnaturally, lower than those in British India, but all Civilians, whatever their Departments may be, are entitled on joining them to an initial salary of Rs. 300 p.m. Salaries of course are fixed and paid in Hali Sicca* currency. The difference, however, in the silver content of the British Government and the Hali Sicca rupee is compensated for more or less by the absence of any Income Tax in the State. As regard his future prospects a Civilian has an excellent chance of becoming before he retires a Subadar, or Commissioner of Division, on Rs. 1,500 p.m., a High Court Judge on Rs. 2,000 p.m., or a Secretary to Government with emoluments between these two figures. Other conditions of service relating to leave, pension, promotion, travelling allowance, etc., which are all laid down in the Hyderabad Civil Service Regulations, are based on, and, taken all round, as liberal as, those obtaining in British India, while tenure of office is absolutely secure. Moreover, there is nothing parochial about service in the Nizam's Dominions, comprising, as they do, an area of 82,000 square miles. The sixteen Revenue Districts into which the State is divided, and the fourteen and a half million Mahrattas, Kanarese, Telegus and Muhammadans which they contain, offer a diversity of interests and problems sufficient to satisfy anyone.

The work of the Hyderabad Civilian is much the same as that of his opposite number in British India except that he has, if he belongs to the Revenue Department, more time to devote to his Revenue duties proper owing to the separation of the Judicial from the Executive. His administrative outlook is essentially modern and his keenness is such that he sometimes requires restraint rather than stimulation. "Mogulai"† is the last adjective to be applied to him save in his loyalty to the Ruler he serves. Visitors from British India, whether they come as temporary

* Rs. 100 B.G. is approximately the equivalent of Rs. 116 H.S.

† The term "Mogulai" signifies anything pertaining to the Mogul period. Nowadays it is generally employed in a derogatory sense as denoting something obsolete.

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technical advisers to Government, or to investigate the possibilities of some rural industry, or to shoot tiger, or merely as tourists, carry away with them the highest opinion of the young sub-divisional Officer's competence, energy and helpfulness. A few days spent on tour in his company would convince the most confirmed die-hard that British Officers have no monopoly of sympathy with the ignorant and often helpless villager. For his whole heart is in his work, whether he is engaged on rural uplift, the development of newly irrigated areas, the creation of market centres, the opening of village communications, the inspection of crops, the championship of some depressed community, or any of his other multifarious duties. When he becomes a Taluqdar or District Officer and his responsibilities expand he rises to his opportunities. Though the immense improvement that has taken place of late years in several of the larger towns in the shape of electrification, pure water supply, drainage and even modern sanitation would not have been possible without the ready co-operation of the Finance and Public Works Departments, much of the credit is due to the Taluqdars concerned. The same spirit pervades other branches of the Civil Service, which has an *esprit de corps* second to that of no Service in India. The approach of Federation opens a vista of even wider usefulness. It is for His Exalted Highness's Government to see, by the careful recruitment of would-be Civilians, by their subsequent fair treatment, and by making merit the primary condition of advancement, that the high reputation of the Service is worthily maintained.

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FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN CHINA*

By Sir Frederick Leith-Ross, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.

Though China looks very different, she has very much the same troubles as we have. When I first went out to China there was an acute monetary and financial crisis. Owing to the rapid rise in the price of silver in 1934, China was faced with the same deflationary pressure as we were faced with before 1931, but in a much more severe degree. Prices fell sharply, credit had to be restricted, debts became difficult to collect, the Banks became illiquid, Government finances were more and more involved, the adverse balance of trade increased, and monetary reserves were being constantly exported. These problems are all connected, but one must begin somewhere and the central problem is that of the currency. In regard to the currency, China adopted the same remedy as we were forced to do. In November of last year she decided to abandon the metallic basis of her currency and to adopt a managed paper currency based on foreign exchange at a value of about 1s. 2½d. to the dollar. It was a bold step and many of the foreign officials and bankers with whom I discussed the decision were sceptical of its success. They thought that the Chinese people were so accustomed to the use of silver as currency that they would accept nothing else. The Chinese Ministers, however, were confident that the public would accept the change without difficulty. And indeed the currency reform introduced last November has worked with remarkable smoothness. The Government Bank notes have been accepted throughout the country. Silver has ceased to be used as currency and has flown into the reserves of the Central Bank, where a large part has been converted into foreign currency reserves. Despite several serious attacks, the exchange has been firmly maintained without any difficulty, and the three Government Banks have accumulated resources greatly in excess of those with which they started.

Much remains to be done, of course, to make the currency reform complete. In particular, the Central Bank requires to be reorganized as a proper Central Reserve Bank. The shares should be disposed of to the public, as and when possible, and the Board given as independent a status as possible. The Government announced their intention of doing this last November, and an Expert Committee, assisted by Mr. Rogers of the Bank of Eng-

* Extracts from a speech delivered by the author before the China Association on November 30.

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land (to whose good work I should like to pay a tribute), has been engaged in working out the details of this reorganization. Their report is now before the Chinese Government, and I am glad to see that the Minister of Finance, in his Report for the 23rd Fiscal Year just published, refers to this Committee and expresses his strong desire that the new bank be organized as soon as possible. I am sure that the reorganization of the Bank on sound lines will do much to establish confidence in the currency solidly both in China and abroad.

Behind the question of the currency is the question of securing a balanced Budget. The Chinese Government have not been able to balance their revenue and expenditure during the recent years of depression. Last November they announced that steps would be taken to balance the Budget within eighteen months, but so far as can be ascertained no very substantial progress can yet be recorded. The net deficit is not large by European standards, but is very considerable in comparison with the fiscal resources of China. The Budget can only be balanced by decreasing expenditure or by increasing revenues. The bulk of the expenditure is for public debt and military expenses; and in present circumstances it is difficult to curtail the charges under either of these heads. In these circumstances the Ministry of Finance is trying to increase revenues; but there are great difficulties in introducing new taxes, and especially direct taxes, in China. British traders clearly cannot be expected to accept burdens from which their competitors are free; and before there is likely to be any general acceptance on the part of the foreign communities in China of direct taxation, the administration must be such as to ensure confidence in its fairness and competence. I can assure you that H.M. Government are fully alive to these points and will take them into account in any discussions with the Chinese authorities. But they hope that British traders, and foreign traders generally, will not content themselves with seeking merely to perpetuate indefinitely the immunities which they enjoy, but will consider China's fiscal needs in a constructive spirit. It is no use criticizing the Chinese Government for not balancing its Budget and at the same time refusing to accept the taxation necessary for that purpose. The prosperity of our trade and of our traders in China depends ultimately on the solvency and prosperity of China itself. This question will, however, take time to settle, and in the meanwhile China must rely mainly on indirect taxation.

On this side there are some promising signs. The improvement of business throughout the country should lead to an automatic expansion of the yield of existing taxes, without regard to new taxes. The Customs revenues already show distinct signs of such improvement. During the earlier months of this year the

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yield was disappointing, no doubt partly due to the general depression and partly due to the extensive smuggling in North China. That smuggling has now been substantially reduced, owing to the measures taken by the Chinese Government to prevent the smuggled goods from penetrating into Central China, and each month since July the Customs revenues have shown a steady and strong recovery which I have no reason to think will not be maintained. This recovery would be still further assisted if the Chinese Government were to revise the present tariffs carefully so as to reduce excessive duties. I suggested this in the statement issued last June, and I am glad to hear that the Chinese Government are now engaged in a revision of their tariff on these lines.

The position of the Customs revenues is of great importance as the Budgetary problem would be eased if the Chinese Government could borrow on cheaper terms. They are at present engaged on a large programme of internal development and, in the absence of foreign lending, they have been forced to raise internal loans to an excessive extent and at correspondingly high rates of interest. If it were possible for the Chinese Government to finance part of this development programme by means of foreign loans, not only would they be able to raise the funds for this purpose much more cheaply, but by reducing the demands on the domestic market they could finance their Budget deficit proper out of real savings, and would be able to raise domestic loans generally at a lower rate of interest.

For this reason, one of the questions with which I occupied myself in China was the possibility of raising her credit. Happily the loans secured on the Customs have always been fully honoured and, except in the event of a general cataclysm, there is no reason to doubt that they will continue to be fully honoured. This gives a basis on which to build. Unfortunately, the unsecured loans, and particularly most of the Railway loans, fell into default during the period of civil wars and it seemed at first almost a hopeless task to tackle. But I urged the Chinese Government to do their best to arrive at settlements of these defaults on fair and reasonable terms, and I think that they deserve to be congratulated on the efforts which they have been making to meet their obligations. No doubt any settlement means sacrifices on the part of the creditors; when loans have been in default for ten or fifteen years, it is illusory to suppose that arrears of interest can be recovered in full. The sensible course is to write off what is irrecoverable and to get the service of the debt resumed in the future. The British creditors, under the wise guidance of Lord Alness, have taken a broad view of the situation, and I am glad to see that settlements have been reached, or are in prospect, of

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practically all the existing foreign loans. I hope that this may open the way to fresh borrowing both here and elsewhere for sound schemes of development. Meanwhile, I would urge the Chinese Government not to be too much in a hurry and to defer all but the most necessary schemes of development until resources can be obtained to finance them on reasonable terms. I know how anxious the Chinese Government are to proceed with a hundred schemes required to promote the welfare of the country; but it is better to go slow and restore the credit of China first than to overstrain her resources.

In this connection I should like to refer to another problem—the improvement of the public administration. The National Government are doing their utmost to promote this, and I would like to pay a special tribute to the efforts which the Minister of Railways, Mr. Chang Kia-ngau, is making to put the railways on a business footing. Nothing could be more important for the future credit of China. But it will take time. While I met many individuals in China with a high sense of public duty, there is not the same tradition of public service in China as there is in this country. In fact, there is not the basis for such a tradition, as the officials are not paid adequately nor have they any security of tenure. I hope that the Chinese Government will pay attention to this question and take steps to organize a Civil Service system under which the Government officials can be assured both of security and of adequate pay. In the meanwhile, I think the Chinese Government should use to the full the services of foreign officials who are willing to come out and work for China. The Customs and Salt Administration have been built up by foreign, and particularly by British, administrators; and China has had no more devoted servants than they have been. I am sorry to hear that proposals are under consideration which would reduce the foreign personnel in the Salt Administration, and I hope that the Chinese Government will not give effect to them. I am sure that it will not profit China to do so. Indeed, I think that the Chinese Government would be wise to engage the services of more foreign experts in other branches of the administration. For example, the foreign communities in China would be more likely to accept additional taxation if the assessment and collection of such taxes were entrusted to foreign officials and fair treatment was thereby assured. Some of our Inland Revenue officials might be spared for this purpose, and the Chinese Government could be assured of their efficiency.

In this connection I would add a word also about the tendency in China to advocate the adoption of monopolies and other devices beloved by economic planners. I do not believe that these devices will be helpful to China. I doubt whether Government inter-

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vention in ordinary trade is very desirable in any country, but I am sure that it will not work well in China. Let the Government maintain stable conditions for trade and leave trade to look after itself.

I have dealt at some length with the financial and administrative problems of China because sound currency and sound credit and stable Government are the basis of trade activities. I have mentioned some points to which I attach importance, but in general I believe that the Chinese Government are working on the right lines, and I am convinced that the fundamental conditions for the development of trade are present in China today.

The currency reform had an immediately beneficial effect on the economic situation. The adverse balance of trade was immediately reduced, and I believe that China is now a creditor on current international account. The readjustment of the exchange encouraged exports and internal trade and discouraged imports. The figures for the first eight months of 1936 as compared with 1935 show a fall of imports by 62 million dollars or 9 per cent.; an increase of exports by 97 million dollars or 28 per cent.; and a reduction of the adverse balance of trade by 159 million dollars or just over 50 per cent. Moreover, the reduction in imports has been effected, almost entirely, by a large reduction in the imports of cereals and other foodstuffs which China should be in a position to produce for herself. During the first eight months of 1935 China imported cereals and wheat flour to a value of 126 million dollars; during the first eight months of 1936 the imports of these commodities were valued at rather less than 44 million dollars, or roughly one-third of what they had been in the preceding year. This has left all the more foreign exchange available for imports of manufactured goods, and, apart from cotton piece goods, the volume of imports of manufactures has, generally speaking, remained stable or increased. This is the right economic trend, for China should be self-supporting in staple agricultural products but needs to import manufactured goods. And this tendency should continue. The recent harvest has given China a bumper crop, fully 30 per cent. greater than last year's production, and this applies not only to cereals but to cotton and other products. As a result China should be able to dispense still further with imports of agricultural products which she can produce at home, and should be able to expand her exports of these commodities with beneficial effects to her purchasing power at home and to her imports of manufactures.

While the British Empire, taken as a whole, has a larger share of the trade with China than any other nation, I am sorry to say that the United Kingdom has no longer its old place as the most important exporter to China. In fact, according to the Chinese

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Customs statistics at present we come fourth. The exports from the United States, Germany, and Japan all substantially exceed those of the United Kingdom. The Customs statistics, naturally, do not include smuggled goods; and if account is taken of this factor, it seems probable that Japan's position is even more favourable than the statistics show. In regard to cotton piece goods and other similar articles, the advantages which Japan enjoys are such that it is natural that she should obtain the bulk of the trade in such consumption goods.

But there is a change taking place in the nature of Chinese imports. Cotton goods in 1929 represented nearly 15 per cent. of total imports, but in 1935 represented only 3 per cent. Iron and steel and manufactures, including motor-cars and aeroplanes, amounted to 12 per cent. in 1929, but had risen to about 25 per cent. in 1935. This tendency is likely to continue. The Chinese demand for cotton piece goods is more and more being supplied by the Chinese themselves. On the other hand, Chinese imports of machinery and other capital goods are increasing, and for a long time ahead it seems improbable that China can supply her requirements in this field except by importation. There is an immense amount of railway construction and development of public utilities, electric power plants, etc., now going on in China. These are precisely the exports which the United Kingdom should be in a position to furnish. It is very discouraging, therefore, to find that even in these classes of goods we are losing ground, mainly to Germany, but to some extent also to Japan. During the first nine months of 1936 China imported no less than £12 million of iron and steel, machinery, vehicles, and other manufactures of iron and steel. Of this £12 million we supplied £2 million, Germany £2·4, U.S.A. £2·3, and Japan £1·9 million. But nearly half of the goods we supplied were due to special non-competitive orders from the Boxer Fund; and Germany and Japan are both increasing their shares substantially where the orders are competitive.

China is not in a position to purchase capital goods for cash, and credit facilities are required. As regards new railway construction, these credit facilities ought to take the form of long-term loans, as it is impossible for any railway, however well operated, to be able to repay its capital cost in ten or twelve years. I have already referred to the desirability of such long-term loans being raised when the credit of China enables it to be done on reasonable terms.

In the meanwhile there are many contracts, not only for railways and rolling stock, but for public utility equipment and machinery of all kinds both for Government Departments and municipal enterprises and private concerns, which can be financed by means

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of middle-term credits. This is a point to which I drew attention in my Shanghai statement; and I am sure that you will have welcomed the action taken by His Majesty's Government in sending out Mr. Kirkpatrick to represent the Export Credits Guarantee Department in China. We have in our financial resources a means which should be used to assist our trade, and I can assure you that the Government is most anxious that these facilities should be available to help through sound schemes.

But the Government cannot undertake to create trade. It is for the traders themselves to get business. In this respect I think that we might well take a leaf out of the German book. I think that the success of the Germans in getting orders in China is not merely due to low prices or long credits; it is due also, and perhaps primarily, to the energy and thoroughness with which they establish contacts, work out proposals and follow them up. Their energy and enterprise in this respect is one we must imitate. I would like to see closer co-operation between all the British interests concerned—manufacturing, merchanting, and banking—to keep our position in the market. I should also like to see the closest possible co-operation with the Chinese. You must study the underlying conditions of the country and learn to understand them as a basis for business. And I should like to see our manufacturers strengthen their present organizations out in China by sending out more young and energetic men. It may seem to them that this is a waste of money today, when they are in many cases so busy with domestic orders. Our internal boom, however, will not last for ever, and the time will come again when we will want export orders. It is therefore very important to maintain our organizations and our connections in China, even at a time when competition is so severe that this may seem unprofitable. Trade today with every foreign country entails some risk, and I believe that the risks in China, for properly prepared schemes, are no greater than in many other countries.

In this connection I should like to say a few words about Japanese policy in relation to British interests in China. Doubtless you have been worried by signs and portents in North China. I think that there is a tendency in this country to exaggerate the risks that these involve. Japan is certainly interested in closer economic relations with China—and particularly with North China—but H.M. Government have received most positive assurances that the Japanese Government has no desire to prejudice British interests in China; that they will give no support to any attempts to break up the Chinese Maritime Customs; and that they have no desire to claim special tariff privileges in China. There is room in China for both of us. Japan can certainly beat us in the supply of ordinary consumption goods, but there are

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other aspects—particularly the supply of capital—in regard to which we can do more than Japan. I believe that there is a growing recognition in Japan that the stability and prosperity of China offers the best solution for Japan's own economic difficulties, and I hope that in the end we may find it possible to co-operate together with the Chinese Government in the reconstruction and the development of a united China.

CRISIS IN THE FAR EAST

By E. M. Gull

The justification for the title of this article may, and it is to be hoped will, appear less obvious than it is at the time of writing—two days after the detention under duress of the head of the Chinese Government, Chiang Kai-shek. There is hope that he may be released, though the outlook is none too promising. If he is set free part of the reason for describing the situation as a crisis will have passed. Part of it, however, in some respects the more important part, will remain—all those elements, namely, which have been straining Sino-Japanese relations to breaking point. It is, of course, conceivable that Japan's policy might re-orientate itself over-night, but that is, to say the least, improbable. For her policy is governed not only by considerations relative to China, but by conceptions of what is necessary for the strengthening of her frontiers against Russia. It is these latter conceptions, as embodied in her policy in Chahar and Suiyüan, which are most nearly related to the seizure of Chiang Kai-shek.

Japanese officials have denied any complicity in the recent invasion of Suiyüan by Manchurian and Mongol troops. Unfortunately, such denials are almost invariably used in respect of situations not yet ripe for avowals. In this particular instance denials have to be appraised by the test of actual events, and unless recent travellers in Chahar and Suiyüan have grossly misinterpreted what they have seen and heard, there can be no doubt that Japan has for a long time past been seeking to establish control; that her agents have been active in the region of the Kalgan-Suiyüan railway, particularly at the railhead town of Pao-t'ou; that last July a party of them was encountered 400 miles north-west of Kweihwa on its way to Ninghsia, and that another party, equipped with wireless, has established itself as far west as Edsin Gol, on the borders of Turkistan.*

I was myself in Chahar and Suiyüan in the autumn of 1935,

* *The Times*, October 10, 1936.

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and the circumstances just referred to are all in keeping with what I saw and learnt then.

The relationship of these circumstances to the seizure of Chiang Kai-shek by Chang Hsueh-liang is in part a matter of surmise which, by the time this is published, may have been proved incorrect. In the light of one's personal knowledge of Chang Hsueh-liang the surmise does not include the supposition that in seizing Chiang Kai-shek he was deliberately playing a pro-Japanese part. It seems more likely that his action was dictated by the belief that Chiang was prepared neither to use his own troops against the Communists nor at this stage to employ them against Japan, notwithstanding recent declarations made in Nanking that the Government would use all resources in resisting the invasion of Suiyüan. Chang Hsueh-liang's attitude—or that of the men behind him, for it may be doubted whether Chang himself is a big enough personality to assume a dominant rôle—appears to have been, "We are half-hearted in our campaign against the Reds, who would make good allies against Japan. But if we are to fight them, let us have more help from your own men." As an answer to such a plea, if in fact it was made, Chiang Kai-shek's dismissal of Chang would inevitably occasion hot-headed discontent which the "Young Marshal," as the latter is called, may have found himself unable to control. The Japanese affect to disbelieve that anybody in China is really prepared to resist them by force. Not less readily does their Press disclaim any desire for the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek—notwithstanding the Tada statement issued in the autumn of 1935 and all the embarrassments which the Kuantung Army have ceaselessly contrived for him since. It may be doubted whether confidence can be placed in either of these disclaimers. On the other hand, it is admittedly difficult to rationalize Chang Hsueh-liang's *coup*, as anybody who has discussed it with Chinese in London will have found.

Nevertheless, in stressing the desire for resistance to Japan, one is not surmising but relying upon facts. It is not the purpose of this article to recount events in detail, but to deal with some of the issues which lie behind them. In order to do this, however, it is necessary briefly to recapitulate.

Throughout 1935, but particularly during the second half of it, Japan was trying to detach North China from the rest of the country by fomenting an autonomy movement. I was at that time travelling in Manchuria, Central and North China and was in close touch with several of the leading personalities on both the Japanese and the Chinese side. The attempt failed except in respect of the eastern portion of Hopei province, over much of which the Chinese Government had already lost effective control through the institution two years before of a demilitarized zone,

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a provision forced upon her in a truce which terminated hostilities caused by Japan's seizure of Jehol. This eastern portion declared itself independent under the leadership of a Chinese, Yin Ju-kêng, in the autumn of 1935. To counter the Japanese pressure which had been exercised in respect of the province as a whole, and to limit its effectiveness to the eastern portion, the rest of Hopei and Chahar—that part of what is historically known as Inner Mongolia which marches with Jehol—were given a partially autonomous status under a specially constituted Council. This political expression of a very ancient Chinese tradition of pliability—a tradition associated with the Chinese word *Ju*, the original form of which composes part of the Anglicized Japanese word *Jujitsu* (whereof pliability and simulation of retreat are the essence)—has up to the time of writing been justified, at all events in so far as it has prevented North China from being severed from Nanking. But the manœuvre has been well understood by the Japanese, who, if they did not borrow *Ju-tao*, or *Jujitsu*, from China many centuries ago, have called that highly scientific pastime by a name which expresses conceptions familiar to the Chinese in pre-Confucian days. Throughout the past year, accordingly, they have been trying to reach the goal which they failed to attain in 1935 by employing different methods, one being a flank attack upon China's fiscal and financial system through the substitution in Eastern Hopei of a tariff very much lower than the regular Customs tariff—a step which has resulted in large loss of revenue to the Chinese Government; another being the exercise of pressure upon Sung Che-yuan, the Governor of the rest of Hopei, through Chahar. An early account of the first method was given in *The Times* of March 18: an account of the second appeared on January 26, when the paper's Peking correspondent telegraphed:

> "Travellers arriving here from Chahar report that three Mongol leaders, with the assistance of Manchukuo troops, have occupied nearly all the Province north of the Great Wall and have established an independent régime with headquarters at Chiangpei. The new régime is claiming the part of Suiyüan which belongs to the four western Banners of the Chahar Mongols."

The cable went on to describe the relationship of these facts to an Inner Mongolian autonomy movement—a matter to which I will return.

Presently there began a series of real and alleged anti-Japanese incidents followed by demonstrations. In June a piece of the railway line between Tangku and Tientsin, over which reinforcements for the Japanese garrison were being carried, was blown up, and almost immediately afterwards South China became vociferously anti-Japanese, in circumstances which bear some but in the main only a superficial resemblance to those which have just

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occurred at Sianfu. On August 25 two Japanese journalists were murdered in Chêngtu; early in September a Japanese chemist was murdered in Pakhoi; and shortly afterwards a Japanese policeman was murdered at Hankow; three Japanese bluejackets, of whom one was killed, being attacked at Shanghai. These incidents and the general question of Sino-Japanese relations became the subject of negotiations marked by characteristic features. Thus on September 25 the Foreign Office spokesman declared that "Japan would continue trying to solve Sino-Japanese problems by negotiations, but unless the Chinese Government showed more 'sincerity' the latter would be futile. In that event Japan must take other measures with great determination." Three days later the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Arita, declared that "the present negotiations can end only in one way. Either our relations will be very much better or very much worse. China is now at the cross-roads and must decide whether or not she will shake hands with Japan." At the end of the month negotiations appeared to have reached a deadlock, notwithstanding the return of General Chiang Kai-shek to Nanking to handle them personally. "There is reason to believe," the Tokyo correspondent of *The Times* said on October 5, "that the settlement which Japan seeks turns entirely on an acknowledgment of her special interests in North China." He added:

"It is claimed that North China occupies a special position owing to its geographical situation in regard to Manchukuo and Mongolia, and that it has been the breeding place of intrigues against Manchukuo, inspired by diehards like General Feng Yü-hsiang and Chang Hsueh-liang and supported by the Soviet Government. The Japanese Army consider it an advance post in the defence of Manchukuo, and it plays a principal part in the co-operation against Communism which Japan proposes.

"If Nanking accepts the special position of North China, some flexibility can be allowed in the negotiation of details. Among these have been mentioned the establishment of Japanese military posts in Chahar and Suiyüan, the construction of railways, harbours, and aerodromes, the organization of an air service between Japan and North China, and the appointment of Japanese advisers in administration.

"On the economic side Japan desires, besides co-operation in the development of natural resources, a reduction of Chinese tariffs, and she would in return merge the East Hopei autonomous régime in the North China area. Smuggling would cease and the Tangku truce would give way to a treaty."

China on her side, however, also made demands—namely, an agreement to keep all Japanese landing parties from Chinese soil; the suppression of smuggling and other activities of Japanese origin; the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Fengtai, a railway junction near Peiping (Peking); and an agreement to give China a free hand in suppressing the Eastern Hopei autonomous régime.* Between these two sets of requirements there was—

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most people will agree—ground for compromise. But while they were still under discussion there began, on November 11, an invasion of Suiyüan—the district in so-called Inner Mongolia which lies to the west of Chahar. Mongol irregulars and Manchurian regulars, all from the Japanese-controlled part of Chahar or areas adjacent to it, moved up to the northern and eastern borders of Suiyüan, provided with Japanese aeroplanes, tanks, and motor transport. Skirmishes occurred all along the border "all covered by Japanese aeroplanes and assisted by Japanese tanks."* On November 15 the invaders attacked the district of Tao-lin, 75 miles north-east of Kwei-hwa. Three days later it was reported that Chiang Kai-shek had arrived at T'ai-yüan, the capital of Shansi Province, accompanied by 20 members of his staff, all travelling by air from Loyang. It was also reported that North Shansi was full of Central Government troops, and that many Shansi troops had been moved into Suiyüan to help General Fu Tso-yi, the Governor of the Province, who was conducting its defence from headquarters at P'ing-Ti-Ch'üan, a town on the Peiping-Suiyüan railway, which has increased considerably in size during recent years. (In the autumn of 1935 I had an interview with Fu Tso-yi, during which he acquainted me with his fears of Japanese invasion.) As a result of these events North China became violently anti-Japanese, nationalistic sentiment reaching fever pitch when, on November 24, news was received that the Suiyüan forces had captured Pai-ling Miao, the Temple of the Larks, one of the great lamaseries, which houses some 1,500 lamas and stands at an important junction of roads—the road to Urga (the capital of Outer Mongolia), the Uliassutai-Kobdo road, two roads to Chinese Turkistan, and the Kalgan road. In Nanking an attempt made by the Japanese Consul-General, Mr. Suma, to reinvigorate languishing negotiations was countered by the intimation that the Chinese Government were preparing a protest against Japanese assistance to the forces invading Suiyüan, and would refrain from resuming general negotiations until a satisfactory explanation had been obtained. Thereupon on December 4 the Tokyo correspondent of *The Times* cabled "the failure of the Nanking negotiations is not concealed here."

Thus, as far as Sino-Japanese relations are concerned, there is a clearly connected chain of events stretching back to the Tangku truce and the seizure of Jehol, which in turn was the outcome of the occupation of Manchuria in 1931. And to the extent that what has just happened at Sianfu is the outcome of China's anti-Japanese and therefore pro-Soviet feeling, the same chain of causation applies with equal clarity. But it is necessary to look behind events or, in other words, to examine the chain more closely.

* *The Times*, November 12.

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Three questions present themselves. The first is, Do the events just narrated disclose a determining connection between Japan's policy and her national needs? The second is, What factors in the situation account for the part which Mongols have been playing in it? And the third is, Are any of the elements of pro-Soviet feeling in China explainable apart from, and without reference to, her obvious and natural disposition to be friends with any Power which is in a position to help her against Japan?

In answering the first question it is necessary to examine the term "national needs." Japan now claims that North China has become "essential" to Manchukuo, and when I was in Tokyo in 1935 her spokesmen justified her recent policy upon that ground, prompting the question, which I actually put to them, if that is so, when may we expect that south North China will become "essential" to north North China? If, in other words, a nation is justified in proclaiming as necessary, either for strategic or other purposes, territory which acquires desirability or importance because it renders more profitable, or more secure, some previous territorial expansion, there is clearly no limit to what she may claim except her capacity to take it. Everyone will admit that in the existing political and economic organization of the world there are a number of desiderata which are recognized as national needs. Everyone will admit also that many of the needs upon which Japan lays such emphasis come within this category—her need of raw materials and markets, for instance, or of up-to-date military and naval forces. Many would say, as I do myself, that some of the obstacles which have been erected against her satisfaction of these needs have helped to consolidate the influence of the army in her foreign affairs. There are, however, circumstances which make it quite impossible to aver that Japan's present-day need of markets and raw materials is the prime cause of her policy in China, one set of circumstances being that her determination to become a Continental Power was evinced many years before the need arose—that is to say, in 1894 at the time of her war with China—another being the nature of the demands which she made upon China in 1915. For while it might conceivably be argued that Japan foresaw at the latter date what her economic position was likely to be twenty years later, such foresight could certainly not be held to explain, much less justify, the demands of 1915 generally referred to as Group V. Incidentally, it should be noted that Group II. of these demands show clearly that she had determined 20 years ago to get a footing in Inner Mongolia.* Accordingly, the answer to the first question asked

* For the Sino-Japanese War, see Joseph, *Foreign Diplomacy in China*, p. 63. For Group V., see MacMurray, *Treaties and Agreements With and Concerning China*, vol. ii., p. 1233.

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above must be that while Japan's need of raw materials and markets is undoubtedly a factor in her China policy, its aggressiveness was displayed many years before any difficulties had arisen in satisfying this need. Moreover, it must be observed that to a man like Baron Shidehara the need appeared to call for a policy very different from the one which is now being pursued.

To turn to the second question, what factors account for the part which Mongols are playing? Even the best informed find some difficulty in describing precisely what that part is. The leading personality in the miscellaneous, irregular body of troops engaged in the invasion of Suiyüan is said to be a Chinese-speaking Mongol, Li Shou-hsin, whose troops were the best of the forces commanded by T'ang Yu-lin in the defence of Jehol against the Japanese. In that débâcle they were refused admission into China, whose interests as conceived by frontier officials have long differed considerably from those which others regard as important. Having fought stubbornly against the Japanese, they were not at first regarded as welcome *protégés* by them either, but ultimately they were given the territory in the neighbourhood of Dolonor to patrol. They became, in other words, frontier adventurers, and have doubtless attracted to themselves Mongols of the same kidney and other Mongols grown discontented and dispirited owing to conditions in Inner Mongolia and the ineffectiveness of its nationalist movement. This, during its recent phases, has been led by Tê Wang, whose Mongol name is Prince Demchukdongrob, of West Sunid, the westernmost of the Ten Banners of Silingol League in the north of Chahar. The tribes and territories that came within the scope of the movement were those of the Silingol and Chahar Mongols, both in Chahar Province, those of the Olanchab League, the Ordos Mongols, the Western Tumet Mongols, and the four westernmost Banners of the Chahar Mongols, all in Suiyüan.*

Basically the movement may be said to have been the outcome, on the one hand, of Chinese immigration which, beginning under the Manchus, was greatly accelerated after the Dynasty's collapse in 1911, and resulted in Mongol pasture land being used for agriculture, the Mongols being forced further and further back; on the other, of reaction and revolt against the participation of various Mongol Princes, some of them in receipt of Chinese subsidies originally instituted by the Manchus, who won control over China by Mongol help, in the money-making process of renting land to immigrants, or of parting with it to Chinese border officials for that purpose. Had the Chinese Government, having lost Manchuria, been wise, it would have backed the nationalists,

* "The Eclipse of Inner Mongolian Nationalism," lecture given by Mr. Owen Lattimore at the Royal Central Asian Society, July, 1936.

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and, curbing the rapacity of Provincial officials and Princes alike, used the nationalist movement for the creation of an autonomous buffer state friendly to itself. Instead, in 1934, it granted a form of autonomy with dubious fiscal rights to an Inner Mongolian Autonomous Political Council, subsequently acquiescing in its virtual negation through the institution of a Suiyüan Autonomous Council, at the instance and under the control of Yen Hsi-shan, the Governor of Shansi Province, with whose interests in Suiyüan a unitedly autonomous Inner Mongolia, which was what Tê Wang was working for, would have conflicted. The result is that neither Tê Wang, nor any other Mongolian leader, is in a position to offer effective resistance to troops in receipt of Japanese help, though the sentimental requirements for such resistance have been created by Mongolian experience of Japanese administration in the portion of Manchukuo known as Hsingan. On the other hand, large numbers of Mongols who formerly lived happy lives in Chahar and Suiyüan hate both their own Princes and Chinese officials and colonists because they have lost their land through them.

Land questions constitute the most important element also in Chinese discontents, and it is to them that one must, in the first instance, refer in answering the third question asked above: Are any of the elements of pro-Soviet feeling in China explainable apart from, and without reference to, her obvious and natural disposition to be friends with any Power which is in a position to help her against Japan? The following quotation is taken from a Japanese study of the "Red Influence in China," prepared for the sixth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held at Yosemite, California, last summer.

> "Generally speaking, that which induced the peasants to start embracing the ideas of communism and to approve the activities of both the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army was their adoption of the policy to liberate the peasants from debts and want of land. This emancipation gladdened the peasants more than any other economic policy, and won them over to welcome wholeheartedly the ideas of communism."

A manifesto issued at the first conference of representatives of the Soviet Area held in Shanghai in May, 1930, contained this passage:

> "There are now in China two political systems which clearly oppose one another. First, there is the rule of the gentry, landowner compradors, capitalists and the Kuomintang. Secondly, we have the Soviet régime of the labourers, peasants, soldiers and the wage-earning masses. The final battle of the two opposing classes which are represented by the two régimes is that which will finally decide the fate of the liberation of China and the emancipation of the labourers and peasants."

A moment's reflection is sufficient to suggest that, with appropriate terminological changes, a similar differentiation of classes could be made in respect of most countries, our own included.

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The idea that such differentiation necessarily implies, and can only be obliterated by, conflict derives, it is scarcely necessary to say, from Karl Marx. Relatively few people have adopted the idea as a working basis in our own country. What proportion of Chinese citizens have done so it is probably impossible to say. Nobody, however, who has studied China's agrarian situation will deny that it provides first-rate material for the propagation, and, indeed, genuine adoption of the idea. Moreover, the fact that China is still mainly an agricultural country makes economic and social inequities associated with land readily intelligible to the majority of the peasant population, amongst which the level of poverty and hardship is more uniform than it is in China's relatively small, or our relatively large, industrial population. Moreover, apart altogether from the pro-Soviet sentiment created by agrarian conditions, the influence of the "Leftists" among China's *intelligentsia* is greater than that of "Leftists" elsewhere—except where the latter are harried and vitalized by Fascists—because they form a considerable proportion of the men whose claim to be included in that class is based upon the possession of "Western" knowledge. Amongst ourselves there is no corresponding distinction between native and foreign wisdom. In China the distinction is marked—so much so that, in not a few cases, the more up-to-date a "young" Chinese is, the less he knows, or is expected to know, about his own intellectual and moral heritage.

In so far as Japanese fear of Red influence in China is based upon these facts, it is well founded—the more so because, while Japan's agrarian situation is in several respects similar to China's, there is a close correspondence between the unhappy conditions of her agricultural and of her industrial population. Knowing what she has to fear at home, she is the more alive to the significance of similar phenomena abroad. The more surprising is it that she should be so ready to assume abroad the military commitments which are patently worsening her own domestic situation. In China she has now contributed to the creation of a crisis which, if it results in the dissolution of the Nanking Government, will throw the country into chaos. On the other hand, if it results in demonstrating that China is at long last proof against War-Lordism, the crisis will bring China and Japan still nearer to hostilities. For increased self-confidence will dictate a firmer attitude on China's part, while Japan's frontier difficulties, and the obsessions which they have created, will bulk still larger in the minds of her militarists.

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THE INDIAN MILITARY ACADEMY

By Brigadier L. P. Collins, C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E.

It may be said with some degree of truth though not of accuracy that the foundation-stone of the Academy was laid in 1917 with the declaration of His Majesty's Government that Indians were henceforward to be eligible to hold the King's Commission. Though they were, in due course, to be admitted to Sandhurst and to Woolwich for a number of years, increasing Indianization of the Indian Army and the gradual replacement of British by Indian officers made it clear that the establishment in India of its own military college was bound to come. A resolution to this effect was, indeed, passed in the Legislative Assembly as early as 1921. The Skeen Committee of 1925-26 followed and, in reply to the terms of reference affecting this particular question, recommended the establishment of a military college similar to Sandhurst in 1933. The details of the scheme were worked out by the Indian Military College Committee of 1931 under the chairmanship of Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., and the Academy opened its doors on October 1, 1932. This would hardly have been possible had not the recently built Railway Staff College, most opportunely for the army, come into the market.

Situated a few miles out of Dehra Dun, on the motor road leading to the small hill station of Chakrata, the Railway Staff College with its residential quarters, class-rooms, offices and accommodation for fifty students and a small staff of instructors was admirably suited to the first needs of the Academy. Even with this good start and with the wholehearted assistance of the Public Works Department the building operations of the next two years were only just able to keep abreast of the expansional needs of the Academy. During this period were added quarters for the staff, drill sheds, a mess, science laboratories, a hospital, a riding-school, squash racket courts, a swimming bath and many other amenities, until today the Academy affords in the excellence of its buildings, appointments and playing-fields a wonderful tribute to the progressive and sympathetic attitude of the Government of India towards this great experiment. The fact that the scheme was carried out at a time of unexampled financial depression should also be borne in mind.

The natural beauty of the Dun with its rivers and forests and its background of hills is well known; its sub-tropical climate and ample rainfall favour the growth of trees and flowers and, in

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particular, of flowering shrubs, and these, thanks to the labours of the staff and to the kindly and expert advice of the staff of the neighbouring Forest Research Institute, are quickly adding to the attractions of the Academy. In these circumstances and conditions the lot of the cadets may be accounted a happy one.

The summer of 1932, prior to the opening of the Academy, was a period of preparation, during which the staff was assembled and many alterations to the buildings and grounds were carried out; in retrospect it now appears as a kaleidoscope in which educational syllabuses, contracts, stores and equipment vie with one another whilst an exceptionally vigorous monsoon impedes building operations and engulfs a steam-roller in a prospective hockey ground!

The arrival of the first batch of cadets on October 1 and the realization that nothing of importance had been forgotten or was wanting brought a feeling of relief that even now can be recalled.

The Academy combines the functions of Sandhurst and Woolwich and trains cadets for all arms of the service. It has a maximum of 200, and the cadets are organized in 4 companies of 50 each. Five terms are in residence, each term consisting of 40 cadets, of whom 15 are selected from the Indian Army, 15 are admitted by open competition and 10 are nominated by Indian States. These State cadets return to the army of the State from which they come on the conclusion of the course. The maximum output for the Indian Army is 30 cadets per term, that is 60 per annum. The staff consists of 20 British officers, 2 Indian officers, one of whom teaches equitation, and 8 British warrant officers for drill and physical training. There are, as at Sandhurst and Woolwich, cadet under-officers, cadet sergeants, etc. The course lasts for two and a half years and there are two terms annually. Climatic conditions necessitate a long holiday, approximately two and a half months, during the hot and rainy season, and there is also a shorter holiday of five weeks in December and January. Compared with Sandhurst the course is a year longer, but as an offset to this a cadet on passing out receives an ante-date of one year, which places him on an equal footing with the young officer from England. The syllabus generally follows and is, naturally, much indebted to those of Sandhurst and Woolwich, but adapted and modified to meet the needs of India. The lack in India of a sound educational grounding, such as is afforded at the private and public schools of England, makes the teaching of mathematics, geography and English a necessity in the early stages of the course and is the main cause of its greater length. The varying educational standards of the cadets have from the first presented a problem of considerable complexity. At one end of the scale will be found graduates of Indian universities (themselves not always

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above educational suspicion !); young men who have been educated in England or have spent 5 or 6 years under the care of English masters at that admirable institution the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun. At the other end there will be cadets from the Indian Army and from the Indian States with very moderate educational attainments and an imperfect knowledge of English. The academic instruction given at the Academy, therefore, in the first year may be regarded as a torment or as a relaxation according to the educational barometer of the individual. A hopeful sign for the future is the establishment of an army class at the Government College, Lahore, and the recent opening of the first Indian public school at Dehra Dun.

It is probable that at the Academy rather more attention is paid than in England to instruction in the art of command and in leadership, and the endeavour is made to turn out a cadet capable generally of commanding a platoon. This, in India, is a matter of very great importance for a number of reasons: for example, the O.T.C. system is still in its infancy and is not available except at the more important universities; again, the Academy is open to the whole of India, of which the classes recruited to and having experience of the army form but a fraction; and, finally, a cadet from the Academy on reaching his Indianized unit as a Second-Lieutenant will have from the outset not only to command a platoon but to do this under the eyes and exposed to the criticism of the very man he is gradually eliminating from the Indian Army, the Viceroy commissioned officer who, as a class, has served the army well and faithfully over a number of years. The latter can hardly be expected to welcome the change, and, whilst he may be tolerant in his attitude towards the young officer of military family and tradition, is likely to be critical of the man who does not possess these advantages.

The Academy aims, therefore, at instilling in the cadet the confidence that comes from a knowledge of the elements of drill, command and leadership. The class-room, the parade ground and camp life all contribute to this end. The camps, one in the fourth and one in the fifth term of a cadet's career, have been popular from the beginning, forming as they do a complete change from the ordinary routine. Each camp lasts for about one week, instruction in normal warfare being given at the one and in hill warfare at the other. The latter has already, and admittedly, been of great practical value to a small number of ex-cadets who, during their year of attachment to a British regiment, took part in the operations against the Mohmands in 1935, for which a medal has since been sanctioned. The foothills of the Himalayas, which are within easy reach of the Academy, present special facilities for this form of training.

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To recapitulate: in the first two terms of the five terms of the course general education, drill and physical training receive particular attention; in the third term the military education proper of the cadet begins, and this is continued in the fourth and fifth terms; in these last three terms also the cadet receives his riding instruction.

Life at the Academy, as at any other similar institution, is a strenuous affair. That it agrees with those who partake of it is evidenced by the mental and bodily fitness of the cadets, the high standard of drill, and especially of physical training and the keenness of the games and sports. Hockey takes pride of place and the standard is high; both cricket and football suffer somewhat from the lack of the early coaching that is as common in English schools as it is rare in Indian. Tennis and squash rackets are popular, and the tennis team can always be relied upon to give a very good account of itself. In a country where distances are great and men of leisure are few, it is not easy, unfortunately, to find teams capable of extending those of the Academy; the visits of hockey, cricket and tennis teams from the Government College, Lahore, and from the Muslim University of Aligarh, however, provide in particular all the opposition that is required, and have the further advantage of giving the members of these teams an insight into the life of the Academy of which little is known to the Indian public. Swimming has always been popular, and boxing has become increasingly and encouragingly so. Intercompany rivalry in games is naturally of the keenest, and the spirit in which all games are played could hardly be bettered; it is this and not technical skill, attractive though it be, that constitutes the importance of games in the training of the prospective officer.

At the Academy the cadet enjoys a standard of comfort that will often be denied him in later life, and which is sometimes regarded by visitors of diehard tendencies as excessive if not unnecessary; but a room to oneself, electric light, fans and modern sanitation cannot fail to exert an influence for good, especially on those who are experiencing these things for the first time; and this will be all the more true when applied to such buildings as the Chetwode hall and the mess. The former—lofty, spacious and well-proportioned—was the demonstration hall of the Railway Staff College and is now reserved for the reception of visitors on important occasions and for examinations; on its panelled walls hang two sets of old colours, the gift of regiments of the Indian Army and the forerunners, it is hoped, of many more. Above the platform at one end is blazoned the coat of arms of Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, and beneath is an inscription, carved in oak, setting forth three principles which were impressed

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upon him on entering the Army and were handed on by him to the cadets in his inaugural speech of November, 1932:

"The safety, honour and welfare of your country come first, always and every time.

The honour, welfare and comfort of the men you command come next.

Your own ease, comfort and safety come last, always and every time."

The mess, built specially for the Academy, contains the dining-hall, an ante-room for the staff, a canteen and several shops; the dining-hall has a seating capacity of 250, with a raised dais at one end which serves as a "high table" on guest nights and as a stage for end-of-term concerts. A splendid collection of big game trophies, the gift of the Sikh pioneers, adorns the walls, and the Academy colours, the King's champion company banner (the gift of His late Majesty) and the Viceroy's banner (the gift of Lord Willingdon) are displayed at the far end in a cabinet designed and presented by a well-wisher of the Forest Research Institute. Surprise has not infrequently been expressed by visitors at finding cadets of all castes and creeds happily engaged in doing ample justice to meals which, but for the absence of pork and beef, are substantially the counterpart of those served in any military mess. This dietary has also been criticized by Indians on the score of its Western character. The answer, it is thought, lies in the fact that it is generally acceptable to and agrees with those who eat it; that the food and the corporate mess life serve as an admirable introduction to Western manners and customs with which all cadets when they become officers must be acquainted; and finally that, even were it desirable, an Indian dietary acceptable to all has yet to be found. The importance in after life to the cadet of good manners and of acquaintance with the habits and customs of polite society need hardly be stressed, and is certainly no reflection on the innate sense of politeness inherent in Indians themselves.

Whilst the mess with its wholesome discipline has been responsible for much, a more benign but certainly no less important influence for good has been exercised in the houses of the staff where, from the beginning, cadets have been made welcome and have been hospitably entertained. In this manner and by their kindly participation and interest in its social life the wives and daughters of members of the staff have made a notable contribution to the good relations which are a distinguishing feature of the Academy and which have not invariably their counterpart elsewhere in India. The reward of those who have worked to this end has lain in the generous and genuine appreciation of

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their efforts by the parents of the cadets. The late W. B. Harris, in *East Again*, has written of India, "Cordial relations, or at least cordial contact, between human beings inhabiting the same country, of whatever race or colour, of whatever religion or intellectual standard, is a necessity of modern civilization. There need be no loss of dignity, there can only be a gain of respect, in the exhibition of sympathy and goodwill." These words sum up both the aim and the experience of those responsible for the administration of the Academy in its early years. The response of the cadets to such an atmosphere, to the disciplined life of the Academy and to the instruction given has been throughout most encouraging, and has led to a mutual trust and confidence between instructors and instructed which enable the many problems of Indianization, and indeed all controversial subjects, to be discussed without reserve on the one hand or suspicion on the other. It will come as a surprise to many to learn that the term "martial classes" has no significance at the Academy. All are Gentlemen Cadets with equal opportunities of proving themselves the possessors of the qualities that go to make an officer.

To anyone free of racial bias the Academy must present a scene that differs, essentially, but little from the military institutions of England. There will be the same pride in drill and turn out; possibly a greater application to academic study, to which the Indian student is by nature inclined; the same keenness on manly sports and games. The response to discipline, the recognition of the need for a high moral standard, the eagerness to acquire greater strength of character or to improve latent powers of command leave no doubt in the mind of the writer that the Indian cadet on passing out is fitted to hold an officer's commission. He may have begun his career at the Academy handicapped by political bias, undue conceit, a desire to blow his own trumpet, a mistrust or suspicion of all but his co-religionists and a belief that the qualities most required in an officer are inherent in one who has passed the prescribed examination and the scrutiny of the members of the Interview and Record Board. These are but the complexes and growing pains of youth, to be dissipated in a sane and friendly atmosphere and to be replaced by the desire to become a good citizen and a responsible officer.

The cadets admitted to the Academy in October, 1932, finished their course in December, 1934, and were posted to British regiments for their year's attachment early in 1935; they have now joined Indianized units of the Indian Army and have been succeeded by further batches of cadets passing out in June and December of each year. Information from various sources goes to show that they are getting on well and that the training given at the Academy is generally suitable.

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The writer, more especially since leaving India, has frequently been asked for his views on the Academy and on the chances of the young Indians trained there to make good in the army. Of the Academy enough has already been written in this article. Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode has himself said publicly, "I am satisfied that the institution is a success and will prove to be one of the most important educational influences in India."

Of the success in the army of a fair proportion of its cadets the writer has high hopes, though he realizes only too clearly the many political, religious and racial dangers that will beset their path. Of these they are warned at the Academy, and the vital importance of identifying themselves with India first and their own community second is impressed upon them. The overcoming of these obstacles will demand a moral courage and a toughness of fibre that may well daunt all but the stoutest hearted and must inevitably, it is thought, lead to the elimination of the less strong. It should be the privilege of English men and English women of goodwill in India to extend a helping hand to these young men who are facing an ordeal unknown to the British officer with all the forces of loyalty, tradition, prestige and unity behind him. The continuation in a wider sphere of the cordial relations of the Academy would be of incalculable benefit to the Indian Army of the future. To re-quote and to add to the quotation already made: "There need be no loss of dignity, there can only be a gain of respect, in the exhibition of sympathy and goodwill. To hold India without these essentials may have been possible in the past. It is dangerous today and may be fatal tomorrow."

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HAFIZ AND THE PLACE OF IRANIAN CULTURE IN THE WORLD*

By H.H. the Aga Khan

The importance to the whole world of those spiritual forces that the ancient land of Iran has cherished in her modern history cannot be overstated. I do not use the term "spiritual forces" in any question-begging sense. I do not wish to limit it merely to religious or such ideas, or to give it any other-worldly interpretation, but I do mean anything that deals with man's life of the spirit here and now on this earth and in this life. Whatever may or may not be the soul's future, there is one impregnable central fact in existence: that here and now, in this world, we have a soul which has a life of its own in its appreciation of truth, beauty, harmony and good against evil. Has modern Iran greatly contributed to the perfectioning of the soul of man thus understood? Modern Iran I define as the ancient race of that high plateau, influenced by the faith of Islam and the imaginative poetry and declamation of Arabia, welded into one by a process of slow intermarriage and movement of many races from north, west, east and south. What has this Iran done for the satisfaction of man's highest aspirations?

Just as in ancient Egypt, so in ancient and pre-Islamic Persia, philosophical, spiritual, poetical thought and effort (or such parts as still remain) are singularly arid and (at least to us modern men) rather repetitions of vain-glorious titles or somewhat unconvincing and worldly-wise prayers. It may be that man at that stage had all the great powers of execution and enterprise, the fruits of which we see in the vast monuments of ancient Egypt, and the remains of similar monuments in Western Asia and Iran. But till the impact with Judaism, Christianity and Islam, man in Western Asia had not yet learned the full value of the greatest treasure in his possession—his own entity and being.

Whatever the cause, after Islam had for three or four centuries taken deep root in Iran the genius of the race blossomed out, and for all the centuries right down to our own times that garden, in spite of the terrible visitations that so often submerged it, has never ceased to bring forth roses of rare fragrance.

Anwari, Nizami, Maulana Roumi, Saadi, Qa'ani and a host of others—names that will be well-known to Oriental scholars, but which will perhaps convey little to the general public here—each

* This article, which is published by permission of the Iran Society, is based on an address which H.H. the Aga Khan gave at the inaugural meeting of the Society at Lancaster House on November 9.

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in his own way gave a message to mankind. But the fundamental point of each message if carefully studied is that man's greatest of all treasures, the greatest of all his possessions, was the inherent, ineffaceable, everlasting nobility of his own soul. In it there was for ever a spark of true divinity which could conquer all the antagonistic and debasing elements in nature. And let me once more stress that this faith in the soul of man expressed in a great variety of ways—in prose and verse, in art and architecture—was not simply a religious or mystic faith but an all-embracing and immediate contact with a fact which, in every human being, is the central fact of existence.

Then came Hafiz—by far the greatest singer of the soul of man. In him we can find all the strivings, all the sorrow, all the victories and joys, all the hopes and disappointments of each and every one of us. In him we find contact, direct and immediate, with the outer universe interpreted as an infinite reality of matter, as a mirror of an eternal spirit, or indeed (as Spinoza later said) an absolute existence of which matter and spirit alike are but two of infinite modes and facets. It is not for nothing that his "Divan" has become, throughout the East, the supreme *fal nama* (book of divination) of millions and millions far beyond the confines of Iran. In perplexity and sorrow, whatever the cause, whatever the standard of intellect or emotion, men throughout the Near East and India turn to Hafiz—from the Ganges to the Nile, from the Caspian to the Bay of Bengal—for comfort and solace. Incredible as it may seem to us, even in his lifetime his influence had reached Bengal, Central Asia, Kashmir, Arabia and Egypt.

Any attempt at translation of Hafiz has always led to immense disappointment. The explanation is simple; he was not merely the Hafiz of the Koran, but well acquainted with the whole field of philosophy, history, poetry and literature, with the highest thought then known to his countrymen. In each verse, with the intense concentration of thought and wisdom so singularly his own, he has produced in amazing variety facets of truth and beauty, of meaning and wisdom. I have myself tried my hand at seeing in how many ways, and with how many totally different meanings, verses of his could be translated into either English or French. I think it is no figure of speech to say that far too many versions and explanations of each word could be given, and that each verse could be interpreted according to the intelligence that one wished to reach.

This, perhaps, will explain why Hafiz has always been (as no other great poet can claim to be) the national poet, the national hero, of Iran. Pushkin, Goethe and Shakespeare in the West; Al Mutannabi, Abu Nawas and Firdausi in the East—all of

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them great, indeed supreme, kings in the realm of poetry—could never reach their humblest subjects. The uncultured peasants of the West, or the equally humble intelligences of the East, could never absorb their full meaning or beauty. Hafiz is different. Not only in his own Persia but in India, in Afghanistan, in Central Asia and even amongst Turkish and Arabic-speaking peoples, the moment his verses are understood you will always find an interpretation of most of them that could appeal to the humblest as well as the highest of intelligences. No wonder the muleteers call him their friend and companion! No wonder the cobbler and the water-carrier find in him—as do the keenest intellects of Asia—solace and satisfaction!

One of the greatest of living Hindu statesmen, Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru, once told me that in all difficult moments of his life he turns to Hafiz. I think there is no one of Iranian race alive today who has not at some time or other—in difficulty, sorrow and misery, or in joy and triumph—turned to his national hero for comfort or further elation. Incredible as it may sound to English ears, it is a fact that there is hardly a Muslim bourgeois family in the whole of India in whose home a copy of Hafiz's "Divan" is not found. I think, too, that we can be fairly certain that the book is as popular in Afghanistan and Central Asia and over a great part of what I may call Western Muslim countries as it is in India.

Soon after the death of Hafiz the worst periods of political and social anarchy, of invasion and disruption, broke up the high civilization already reached in Iran. Bismarck and other statesmen and historians have said that Germany as the battle-ground of Europe could never bring about—except at a terrible sacrifice—the peace, civilization and unity characteristic of England and France. Persia was the battle-ground of Asia. But the genius of Hafiz was never submerged. Whenever peace came, in howsoever limited a form, the eternal tree bore fruit. Hafiz taught the appreciation of beauty, love, gentleness and kindliness; the value of all human beings; the constant glory and splendour and joy of the universe in which we live; the wonder of communion with nature. These undying, eternal truths were so immortally impressed by him on his countrymen that whenever opportunity arose in any period of peace the striving after them and the expression of those eternal values became, in Iran at least, a motive force and power.

Critics of Iranian civilization and culture have said that after Hafiz the light was not only dimmed but burned out. Nothing could be more false and unjust. No doubt Hafiz was the supreme genius of his race, and in that sense if we try to measure his successors by his standard we will find an immediate and sudden

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decline. But that surely is not the right way to search for his influence. Did the Persian race after him strive for expression in art and literature, in poetry and prose—for the wealth and splendour inherent in the human soul? I have no hesitation in saying "yes." Take the art of the Safavi period—poor in literature, but so rich in architecture and in textiles, in beautiful metal and glass work, in its lovely brocades and carpets. Can we deny that there is here immense search for expression of the highest aspirations of man's soul?

Whenever Iran had any breathing space from war and invasion and misery, in one form or another a national character has formed and, by the spiritual influences of its poetry, immediately turned towards the expression of appreciation and enjoyment of the eternal light within us. And during the nineteenth century one of the very greatest poets that the Iranian race has ever produced, Qa'ani, interpreted nature with a wealth of variety, a strength and beauty, which I doubt can ever be surpassed. Let the admirers of Wordsworth and the French nature poets compare in beauty, simplicity or grandeur the finest verses of the Western masters with Qa'ani's constant descriptions and references to rain, thunder, the sky and earth, the flowers and mountains, night and day, the sun, moon and stars. If the odes had mercenary motives, if the human praise and blame which he bestowed as he went along were nearly always insincere—let us not forget the fundamental honesty of his outlook on life and the universe, the sincerity of his belief in the beauty and goodness of nature.

Modern Persian critics, unconsciously influenced, perhaps, by the puritanical standards of European literature during the last century, have taken Qa'ani to task for his praise of sexual perversities. But when all is said these are but drops in the ocean of his work and, compared with similar extravagancies of many great writers of the West, they are neither prominent nor obtrusive. No one need, unless he searches in the "Divan," come across these particular passages. The music and joy of his verses, the sincerity of his conviction that life is a great, noble and splendid experience—every minute of which is to be treasured as the greatest of God's gifts—these surely are the qualities we will find in page after page and verse after verse of his work.

But is this immense wealth of Iran to remain only a treasure of the Islamic East and its fringe in India? Is Europe, is America, is the West so rich in the joys of the spirit, in its immediate satisfaction with life, that it can afford to close its doors to what Iran has to offer in the highest spiritual satisfaction to mankind? In these days of intensive nationalism—nationalism of a kind that wishes to turn even art, beauty and goodness into national possessions—is

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this immense lesson of Iran to be forgotten? Iran in its language, in its culture, in its highest soul expression, has taken to its bosom and freely accepted the contributions of Greece and India, the immense stream from Islam, Arabia and the Turkish race. It has assimilated the best of each in order better to express its yearning after truth and beauty. Is this fundamental influence not to be brought into the service of the highest culture of the West?

In the economic field we find today the ideal of one great source of wealth, the earth, to be enjoyed by humanity as a whole through free trade and competition, looked upon almost as an expression worthy only of a lunatic asylum. Peace, and the League of Nations co-operating to conquer disease, malnutrition and the vast waste areas of the world; to raise the poor and humble irrespective of race and religion to the standard of the highest; to feed the famine-stricken and the starving; a competition for construction between various races and countries—all this would today, as a practical suggestion, be considered only worthy of idiots and half-wits. The work of destruction has a totally different standard of appreciation applied to it. Yet, truly understood, and from the lowest material point of view, what good could come from efforts to conquer the waste areas of the world by co-operation, to bring about a standard of living in China and India that would enable people there to buy some of the luxuries of life from Europe and America, to apply the tropical lands that are impossible for European and American settlement for the benefit of the millions of the brown and yellow races and thus open up new and vast markets for the white races for healthy exchange and welcome competition. All these things would lead through prosperity to spiritual awakening and artistic creation. Such work today is not in the realm of practical politics.

Surely now there is room for us to turn to the spirit of Hafiz's teaching. For if ever there was a time when we needed the universality of Hafiz as a guiding light it is today when there are forces that threaten the roots of humanity. Class and race competition threaten to submerge the highest joy of life and living—namely, the search for, and conquest of, true beauty and goodness which, could we but know it, are ever within our grasp.

In that spirit I appeal to the intellectual classes in this country to study and understand Islamic, Hindu and Far Eastern philosophy, culture, literature and art. Thus the spiritual and emotional inheritance of Great Britain, Europe and America (North and South) should not be merely derived from Greece and Judaism, but from the world as a whole, for I am certain that Asiatic culture in its widest sense can bring as much to man's common heritage as either Greece or Palestine.

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THE COMMERCIAL PROGRESS OF THE CROWN COLONY OF HONG-KONG

By Sir William Shenton

The great progress which the colony of Hong-Kong has made in the last ninety-four years is due largely to seven principal factors. First its geographical position, second its natural facilities as a port, thirdly the fact that it is a free port, fourthly that cargo can be handled there more cheaply than at any other port in the Far East, fifthly British enterprise, sixthly the appreciation of its facilities for trade by the Chinese, and seventhly that Hong-Kong, the Portuguese colony of Macao and Canton have for the purposes of the free movement of the population and quarantine been treated as if they were one area, with the result that few restrictions exist.

The colony might well be described as a monument to British enterprise and Chinese co-operation. It consists of the island of Hong-Kong, a number of small islands and a portion of the mainland. It is situated in latitude 22 and longitude 114. The total area is 390 square miles. It is situated at the mouth of the West River Delta and thus taps the bulk of the trade of South China. It is in the direct line of shipping moving either to the north or the south. The total population is little short of a million according to the latest census.

It was acquired in three separate stages. In 1841 the island of Hong-Kong and a small strip of the Kowloon peninsula was ceded by China to the British Crown; this was subsequently in 1842 confirmed by the Treaty of Nanking. In 1860 another strip of the peninsula was ceded, and in 1896 a lease for 99 years was obtained of what is now known as the New Territories.

It is interesting to note how time often vindicates and confirms the view of the man on the spot. Captain Elliot, Her Majesty's Chief Superintendent in China at the time of the cession of the island and responsible for the negotiations, was not only recalled, but received a strong reprimand from Lord Palmerston because he had accepted the island of Hong-Kong and not insisted on receiving the island of Tinghai in the Chusan group, whose facilities for shipping, at the present time, would have been quite useless.

The colony has, from time to time, gone through cycles of prosperity and periods of depression, but it has always emerged from the periods of depression stronger and more virile than

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before; there is no reason to think that what has happened in the past will not be repeated. The port is a natural harbour for shipping, and is capable of accommodating the largest ships that the world has yet seen. It has, and can have, no real rival in South China, because for the big draft ships the Portuguese port of Macao is too shallow, and the port of Whampoa, which is a few miles down the river from Canton, however much dredging may be done there, will always have to contend with the mud flats at the mouth of the Pearl River which cover a very large area. At the time when the colony was ceded Her then Majesty's Government, through Sir Henry Pottinger, the first Governor of the colony, and who was vested with plenipotentiary powers, declared that the port should be a free port, that the flags of all nations were welcome, and an undertaking was given that Chinese family customs and usages would be observed. The amenities and the possibilities were quickly recognized by the inhabitants of the Hinterland, with the result that large numbers of hard-working Chinese flocked to the colony, and on a barren rock there arose a great commercial city and a port which, a few years ago, ranked second in the world for tonnage, and even today, after a period of depression, still takes fifth place. The annual revenue and expenditure of the colony from small beginnings has now risen to a figure in the neighbourhood of 30,000,000 Hong-Kong dollars. The taxation is moderate, consisting of a collection of 17 per cent. on the assessed rentals, a reasonable tax on wines, spirits, beer, tobacco, opium and petrol, with an Empire preference in respect of motor-cars, wines and tobacco. There are, of course, the usual duties on land and commercial transactions, also certain harbour and light dues which do not appear exacting when compared with other ports.

The harbour, seen from the air, presents a picture of great commercial activity. The eye at once discerns about 50 ocean-going ships taking in or discharging cargo, three large, fully equipped dockyards, also innumerable wharves and go-downs. The continuous in and out junk traffic would also be very apparent. Daily many ships arrive and depart from or to all parts of the world, and the colony is at all times in closest touch with the ports of China.

Owing to the joint British and Chinese enterprise, there is a railway running from the Kowloon Peninsula to Canton, from which city the recently completed Canton-Hankow Railway starts, thus bringing the colony into direct touch with the railway systems of China. The two railways are not yet linked up, but this can only be a question of time, because if Canton wished to get the full benefit of her enterprise, and prevent much traffic from being diverted north to the Yantsze River, this linking up

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is essential. Canton will certainly be the chief gainer by the through communication. It might be suggested that the port of Whampoa, when completed, will cater for this traffic, but the probabilities are that the deep-draft ocean-going ships will always favour the port of Hong-Kong.

The completion of this railway now brings Hong-Kong into direct railway communication with Europe.

The colony for some time lagged behind in the matter of air services owing to difficulties in negotiations with China, but she has now offered her aviation facilities freely, and constituted herself a free port for air services in the same way that she is a free port for shipping. Imperial Airways from the south, the China American organization from the north, and Pan-America from the west have recently developed regular services, so that she is now in direct communication by air with the rest of the world. The Japanese appear to have negotiated some arrangement with the North China authorities whereby civil aviation privileges over parts of China have been obtained. Possibly the most-favoured-nation clauses of the various treaties will be brought into play in this respect and general facilities granted to other nations. China is progressing with great rapidity in the matter of roads, and the date cannot be far distant when cargo from the colony will be taken by lorries, and passengers carried by buses, to many parts of China.

A matter of first importance has recently taken place in China —viz., the stabilization of her currency together with a very real effort at unification. This new departure has synchronized with the recent visit of Sir Leith Ross, one of Britain's leading financial advisers, to China, and Mr. Norman Young, of the British Treasury, to Hong-Kong. For many years the economists have advised along these lines, but ancient custom and vested interests made this very desirable change more than difficult. Formerly, weight and quality of silver was the basis of exchange, together with currencies varying from Province to Province and largely dependent on the value of silver from time to time.

The new system is gaining ground with the extension of the influence of the Government at Nanking. A new currency is being put into circulation whose value is more or less in line with the Japanese yen and consequently with sterling. The effect is that exports from China are finding a ready market, and the result an increased buying power for imports by the masses of China. The policy of Hong-Kong has been, as far as possible, to keep her currency in line with that of China, and she is already benefiting from the increased trade of that country.

The difficulties of trading in the past can well be imagined when it is remembered that within the past few years the value

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of both the China and the Hong-Kong dollar has fallen in rough figures from a sterling value of about 2s. to 11d., back again to over 2s. 6d. and down again to 1s. 3d. Circumstances such as these bring commerce to a standstill or a purely hand to mouth position, as no trader from day to day can take a view as to the future. Now all this is changed. The Hong-Kong Government have taken over the currency policy of the colony, stabilized the local dollar round 1s. 3d., and so it will remain subject to some worldwide currency arrangement or some very far-reaching catastrophe. The merchant today can gauge the future with reasonable certainty and enter into his transactions without fear that he will turn a profit into a loss because of the vagaries of exchange.

The visit of Sir Leith Ross has been followed by the appointment of Mr. Kirkpatrick, who formerly represented Preston in the House of Commons and who has had much previous experience of this kind of work, in control of a scheme for arranging export credits by the British Government similar to that which has been in force in respect of Russia for a considerable period to the great benefit of the trade with that country.

Too much importance cannot be attached to this appointment, which will undoubtedly substantially benefit and improve British trade with China. Hong-Kong itself offers great facilities for trade and commerce. Here, on the coast of China, with her teeming millions, exists a colony steeped in British tradition, with a labour population orderly and industrious in the highest degree, adequate facilities for all forms of commerce, together with a stable and certain Government providing all the amenities of modern life.

Within about 100 miles of Hong-Kong is the ancient Chinese city of Canton, ranking second in importance in the country, and whose progress along modern lines during the last 30 years has been most phenomenal. Here flows the West River, bringing with it the trade of South China; here roads and railways branch out in all directions; here have been built, in recent years, cotton, wool, silk, cement, sugar refining and many other factories on the most modern lines; here live the most active and certainly the most progressive people in the whole of China.

Taxation in China is, of course, of vital importance to the trade of Hong-Kong. From 1842 to 1925 the tariffs affecting foreign trade were almost entirely regulated by treaty, but in 1925 China obtained tariff autonomy, since when she has been going through a period of transition in this respect. Like many other countries, she did not escape the infection of nationalism, with the result that many of the tariffs, imposed from time to time, have met with a great deal of criticism; but it is to be hoped, and there are

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already signs in this direction, that the position is largely a process of trial and error, and that in due course she will evolve a system both for imports and exports to which foreign trade will be able to attune itself.

This problem is, of course, also bound up with the question of internal taxation on the movement of goods from place to place, and here again there is much room for improvement, but as the influence of Nanking spreads over the country so are the many obstructions gradually disappearing.

As a centre of commerce Hong-Kong will probably become more and more attractive to the foreign trader; there the arm of the law is sure and certain, a contract made can be enforced and the facilities for arbitration are adequate in all respects. As extra-territoriality disappears and as China brings into force increased or new commercial taxes and other impositions on trade, bringing in their train the inspection of books and other impediments, so will the foreign merchant find his harbour of refuge in the colony and direct his operation from that centre. Merchandise can there be stored for unlimited periods to await a propitious market at a cost cheaper than anywhere else in the Far East.

A matter which is of great interest to the port of Hong-Kong is the smuggling problem. The high tariffs imposed by China have made smuggling a most lucrative occupation, and the system has become so organized as to have developed into a highly technical profession with ramifications in all directions. No British colony desires its trade to be built up as the result of illegal traffic. Consequently the authorities at Hong-Kong for a number of years past have tried to come to an arrangement with the Chinese Government agreeable to all concerned, but until recently what suited Nanking did not necessarily suit Canton. Now that Nanking is today exercising a more direct control over Canton, the time seems ripe for some new move in that direction.

The smuggling into China has developed into three categories. There is first the smuggling up and down the whole length of the China coast brought about by the high tariffs. This consists merely of running the gauntlet of the Chinese Maritime Customs. It is almost entirely confined to the Chinese merchants who, having taken delivery of their goods, pay an organization a certain percentage considerably less than the Customs levy and the organization in question then delivers the goods to their destination, making their own arrangements on the way. The island of Formosa is also a convenient centre from which to carry on operations. It will be easy to realize the difficulty of the Chinese Maritime Customs when the coastline of China and the numerous adjacent islands are visualized. The second form is confined largely to South China and was brought about by the Southern

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authorities having adopted a policy of industrialization for which purpose they have built various factories. The materials have in many cases been brought in duty free, and where a factory, such as the sugar refining mills, finds insufficient raw material to work on internally, sugar has been imported from outside without paying the duty others would have to pay. This procedure might be considered as legitimate save that it robs the Customs of revenue on which much of the Central Government loans are secured. The third form has been taking place in North China and consists in running goods into North China without paying the regular duties, accompanied by armed guards of Koreans and persons claiming Japanese status from Manchukuo, who compel admission at the point of the bayonet and claim immunity by reason of the extraterritorial rights and privileges claimed under the Tangku arrangement. This form of smuggling has been carried out on a large scale, but the position appears to have now improved having regard possibly to the strong protests of the foreign powers.

The question might well be asked what evidence is there that Hong-Kong has a more prosperous future in front of her. The answer is not difficult to give, with the reasons therefor.

1. The Government is now building new and much larger hospitals and schools. It is about to finish a vast water scheme, largely increasing the supply for the colony.

2. The Hankow-Canton Railway has just been completed, which must bring much new trade to the port.

3. Air traffic is just becoming a reality in the colony.

4. The Hong-Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, one of the most powerful if not the most powerful banking institution in the Far East, has recently rebuilt its head office at Hong-Kong at a cost of something in the neighbourhood of 10,000,000 Hong-Kong dollars. The building now compares favourably with any other buildings of its kind in any part of the world.

5. The principal wharf and go-down company has recently increased its pier accommodation for large ships and deepened the approaches.

6. House building generally is largely on the increase.

7. The currency position both in China and Hong-Kong has recently been stabilized and put on a level where China can compete in the world markets.

8. The British Government will with the export credit policy substantially increase the trade between Great Britain and China.

9. The great improvement in the good relations and general commercial co-operation between the British and the Chinese in the colony, brought about by a much better understanding of each other's point of view and fostered by the liberal policy of the

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secondary schools and Hong-Kong University, point in the same direction. There have also been goodwill visits exchanged between the commercial communities of Hong-Kong and Canton, which is quite a new departure. Perhaps the most important event in this category is the recent meeting of Generalissimo Chan Kai Shek and H.E. Sir Andrew Caldecott, the present Governor of Hong-Kong.

These facts cannot be controverted, and show the confidence not only of the Government but the commercial men also in the future prosperity of the colony of Hong-Kong.

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THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES FROM 1928 TO 1935

By Dr. Cecile Rothe
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II

N.B.—The statistics quoted in the article are those available up to May 1, 1936.

Imports

As to imports a remarkable change in the composition may be noticed, a change which has a direct connection with the general economic conditions. On one side the decline in value received for export products has led to a decrease both in the quantity and the value of the imports, on the other side structural changes in the country have had an influence on the imports.

In dividing the import goods into a number of groups according to their final destination, one can gather a more or less correct impression of the influence of depression on the economic life. The table below represents an attempt at such a division; the groups I. and II. are chiefly consumed by the natives; a part of group III. is intended for the non-native inhabitants; group IV. has to do chiefly with the Europeans; group V. embraces the needs of transport; and groups VI. and VII. those of industry. The figures have been published in the official weekly of the Department of Economic Affairs in Batavia; we have no similar figures for the year 1935 at our disposal.

Though no exact data can be derived from these figures because the groups comprise articles with quite different import quantities so that one article has much more influence on the value of the group than another, they still demonstrate some remarkable features. As a whole the import value has decreased more than the quantity.

The decrease in weight of foodstuffs for the natives is to be explained by the decrease of rice and soya beans imports in consequence of the Government measures to limit imports and of the increase in home production. Other articles have remained steady or—like dried and salted fish which is a very important foodstuff—show an increase. One must not set too great a value upon the import of foodstuffs, as the main native foodstuffs are produced at home and in this respect the Netherlands Indies are nearly self-supporting.

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INDEX FIGURES OF TOTAL IMPORTS, THE YEAR 1928 BEING TAKEN AT 100.

	Weight.				Value.			
	1929.	1931.	1933.	1934.	1929.	1931.	1933.	1934.
I. Foodstuffs and consumption: luxuries for natives ...	121	103	62	51	118	68	29	22
II. Articles of daily use and clothes for natives	103	99	73	74	107	55	38	40
III. Piece goods and yarns	105	82	106	100	101	56	41	37
IV. Butter, beer, wine, etc.	104	74	65	39	106	68	44	31
V. Motor-cars and tyres	117	45	28	29	116	42	20	16
VI. Machinery	89	18	6	9	104	25	6	8
VII. Other industrial goods	114	59	39	35	107	46	20	19
VIII. Other articles	124	74	66	72	117	65	37	35

	Weight in Metric Tons.			Value in 1,000 Guilders.		
			(1st half-year.)			(1st half-year.)
	1928.	1934.	1935.	1928.	1934.	1935.
I. Foodstuffs and consumption: luxuries for natives ...	787,074	399,573	292,523	56,323	35,154	21,979
II. Articles of daily use and clothes for natives	57,060	42,120	12,805	41,004	16,237	6,412
III. Piece goods and yarns	85,117	85,057	34,639	221,927	81,395	33,611
IV. Butter, beer, wine, etc.	55,004	21,360	10,706	25,186	7,884	3,940
V. Motor-cars and tyres	30,852	8,993	5,298	44,527	7,252	4,101
VI. Machinery	80,758	6,921	4,345	52,200	4,225	2,701
VII. Other industrial goods	785,082	272,802	158,959	119,565	22,663	14,044
VIII. Other articles	1,044,637	753,648	333,387	321,130	11,353	48,502
Total	2,925,584	1,590,744	852,662	981,863	286,163	135,290

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The group of articles of consumption which are chiefly intended for the natives include things which do not belong to the first necessities of life; in view of the low level of prosperity at present, it is a remarkable fact that the imports of some articles—*e.g.*, bicycles—have steadily grown in the last few years. The great fall in the import value is partly due to the cheapness of the large Japanese imports.

The group of textiles shows that the supplying countries have succeeded in adjusting their prices to the heavy decline in the purchasing power of the natives, and it gives an impression of the degree to which the imports of Japan have been forced up. It is hardly credible that the needs in bad years should have risen above those in good years, but the reason of the higher consumption can obviously be sought in the lower price and possibly the lesser wearing quality of Japanese textiles.

The decline of the groups butter, beer, etc., and that of motor-cars needs no explanation.

The tremendous fall in the imports of machinery leaves a sad impression of the position of large industries; the sugar industry was in former years the greatest consumer. But in 1934 some greater activity was shown by the foundation of new industries, and this continued in 1935.

In the lower imports of other industrial goods is incorporated the decrease in cement, the import of which was limited for the benefit of the home industry. Other articles such as manures and unmanufactured iron, intended for new industries, show a considerable increase.

In general it may be said that the supply of necessities to the population has been satisfactory, but—as has already been remarked—these are no more than a supplement, and, especially in difficult times, the natives show admirable power of adjustment and fall more and more back to a domestic household based on their own production. Money in native society became scarcer as a consequence of the decrease of the amounts received for export products and for wages. This decline was only partly compensated by the decrease in import prices and must for the other part be found in strict economies and by the use of cheaper quality of goods.

However, since 1934 European industrial life, especially in the matter of rubber and tea, has somewhat improved and from that year import figures show a tendency to rise, though only slightly. Import figures show the influence of quota measures, and it is not too much to say that they already show some results in the development of industrialization.

The distributive system in the Netherlands Indies has also adjusted itself to the changed conditions, so that it may be assumed

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that the decline in value of imported goods has been of full benefit to the consumer.

In discussing exports we have already pointed to a change in destination which is leading to modifications in commercial policy. The change in foreign trade during the period 1928-1935 is still more remarkable as regards the origin of imports, as appears from the following table showing the values of imports from the various countries and their percentage of the total.

VALUE OF IMPORTS IN MILLIONS OF GUILDERS AND PERCENTAGES IN THE TOTAL IMPORT OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES.

Countries of Origin.	1928.	%	1932.	%	1933.	%	1934.	%	1935.	%
Netherlands	197	20·0	58	15·8	39	12·4	37	13·0	35	12·8
Great Britain	120	12·2	36	9·6	31	9·7	29	9·9	24	8·6
Germany ...	105	10·7	28	7·7	24	7·6	21	7·3	21	7·8
Belgium and Luxembourg	19	1·9	6	1·6	6	1·7	4	1·4	3	1·1
France ...	11	1·1	4	1·0	3	1·0	3	0·9	5	1·9
Others ...	44	4·5	13	3·6	10	3·0	8	2·6	9	3·2
Total Europe	496	50·5	145	39·3	113	35·4	102	35·1	97	35·4
America ...	101	10·2	26	6·9	17	5·5	19	6·7	22	7·9
Japan ...	94	9·5	78	21·3	99	31·0	93	31·9	83	30·3
Singapore and Penang	128	13·1	54	14·5	39	12·3	37	12·6	34	12·5
British India	48	4·9	17	4·7	11	3·5	8	2·7	10	3·7
China ...	19	1·9	6	1·6	7	2·1	7	2·4	5	1·7
Others ...	61	6·3	28	7·5	19	6·1	12	4·1	12	4·4
Total Asia ...	350	35·7	183	49·6	175	55·0	157	53·6	144	52·5
Australia ...	26	2·7	12	3·3	10	3·2	10	3·3	8	3·1
Africa ...	5	0·5	2	0·6	2	0·7	2	0·8	2	0·7

By summarizing the import figures of the table above with those of the export mentioned in my previous article, the following trade balances appear.

The figures of these tables show clearly in the first place that the share of Europe in the exports is increasing whereas that of Asiatic countries is decreasing. On the other hand, however, they show the shifting of the centre of interest of the Netherlands Indies imports from European and American suppliers to those in Asia, especially Japan. The process of adaptation to a lower economic level involved a demand for cheap articles, a demand which the European and American purveyors could not meet, but the Asiatic ones were able to satisfy. The fact that Japan and other Asiatic countries left the gold standard, and that the production capacity of their industries was undergoing a considerable extension, helped to influence the shifting of the Netherlands

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TRADE BALANCE OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES WITH THE VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD IN MILLIONS OF GUILDERS.

	Europe.			Asia.			America.			Australia.			Africa.		
	Exp.	*Imp.*	*Bal.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Bal.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Bal.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Bal.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Bal.*
1928 ...	575·6	495·7	+79·9	702·0	350·2	+351·8	203·9	100·5	+103·4	50·8	26·1	+24·7	36·0	5·0	+31·0
1930 ...	379·1	393·9	−14·8	572·4	342·6	+229·8	143·5	94·1	+49·4	28·8	25·4	+3·4	8·4	5·6	+2·8
1932 ...	215·8	144·8	+71·0	209·7	182·8	+26·9	66·8	25·6	+41·2	18·0	12·1	+5·9	11·7	2·3	+9·4
1934 ...	205·9	102·3	+103·3	170·5	156·4	+14·1	57·2	19·4	+37·8	23·8	9·6	+14·2	13·1	2·4	+10·7
1935 ...	195·0	97·0	+98·0	143·0	144·0	−1·0	65·0	22·0	+43·0	21·0	8·0	+13·0	14·0	2·0	+12·0

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Indies import trade. Whereas the export to European countries declined from 1928-1934 by about 66 per cent., the active balance was still 103·3 millions, against 79·9 millions in 1928. On the other hand the active balance with Asia was no more than 14·1 millions in 1934, in 1935 it was even passive; this figure is much influenced by the passive balance with Japan as may be seen from the following figures.

TRADE OF JAPAN WITH THE NETHERLANDS INDIES IN THOUSANDS OF GUILDERS.

	Imports from Japan.	*Exports to Japan.*	*Balance.*
1928	93,682	57,178	36,504
1930	100,125	46,232	53,893
1932	78,337	23,658	54,679
1933	98,718	22,769	75,949
1934	92,935	19,462	73,473
1935	82,092	24,148	57,944

The flood of cheap Japanese goods has supplanted imports from elsewhere and thus dislocated the Netherlands Indies market. It is apparent that in a time which aims at reciprocity in trade such a course could not be persisted in and would have to lead to commercial and political consequences.

The country could not be reconciled to the position that more and more imports came from countries which had only an unimportant share in its exports. On the other hand it was advisable that countries which took a larger part of Netherlands Indies exports than before should not lose their position in the import. One of the countries which has suffered most severely from Japanese competition is the mother country, the percentage of which in the Netherlands Indies imports has strongly declined in the years immediately before 1934. It was at any rate necessary to protect the position of Holland on the Netherlands Indies import market from a further decline, and in the end the desirability of reciprocal help was felt.

The principle that Holland and the Netherlands Indies should support one another mutually in economic matters is rather novel. For many years the mother country and the colonies have stood in this respect entirely independent of one another, but when the foreign markets were more and more closed by tariff walls and import limitations they were continuously thrown together.

There was an important reason for defending Dutch imports against the competition of Japan, seeing that the Netherlands Indies in regard to some import articles was threatened with becoming entirely dependent on one single country and thus eventually being delivered to the price policies of a virtual monopolist.

In the various crisis measures taken in the Netherlands Indies the interest of the mother country has been kept in view; on the

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other hand in entering into commercial treaties Holland has involved Netherlands Indies interests. We have already mentioned the help given by Holland in guaranteeing Netherlands Indies loans which were due for conversion; further, a reduction in the crisis taxes on Netherlands Indies maize and rice imported into Holland has been granted.

Industrialization

There was another factor which brought a new trend in economic policy; as a consequence of the difficulties met with in exporting agrarian products, a number of industries have arisen in the Netherlands Indies which include manufacturing goods which have been imported up to the present. Seeing that it was quite uncertain whether agrarian production would be restored to the former level, the Government has paid attention to maintaining these new European industries. Previously there existed various European enterprises such as cigarette factories, but at present industrialization is being taken up on a larger scale.

The impetus in the direction of industrialization in the Netherlands Indies, which is becoming more and more apparent, is mostly the result of economic conditions. The question shows various aspects and is relatively new to the country. The Netherlands Inlies produce chiefly raw materials and are therefore extremely susceptible to periodic changes. In a period of depression like the present one, when the prices of raw materials on which the prosperity of the country depends show a tremendous decline, it has once more become apparent that it is not profitable for a country to be based on one-sided sources of economic development. This was one of the reasons that influenced the Government to support private enterprise for establishing various industries during the last few years.

Some examples of important European factories recently established are one for motor-cars at Tandjong Priok, the factory of cheap iron barrels at Tandjong Priok, the factory of rubber tyres at Batavia; chemical industries for manufacturing paints, ink, polishes; factories for bicycles, shoes, etc. Cigarette and cigar factories occupy already an important place; in 1929 the importation of cigarettes still amounted to 1,700 net tons, that of cigars to 270 tons, whereas in 1935 it was respectively only 105 tons and 35 tons; the quantity of cigarettes and cigars manufactured in the Netherlands Indies amounted in 1935 to 8 milliards and 1 milliard respectively. Large breweries and a cement industry have already been established some years ago. The establishment of a large-scale textile industry is being planned by Dutch industrialists.

A country with a population of 60 millions offers a possibility

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of existence to suitable industries producing for the home market. In particular, industries which use raw materials present in abundance in the country, such as the coconut oil industry, or which rely on mass-production, such as the cigarette industry, have proved their ability to survive. But on the other hand the purchasing power of the native inhabitants is extremely limited and closely linked up with their prosperity in agriculture.

There is, moreover, a danger in industrialization for a country like the Netherlands Indies which must in the first place do everything possible to promote its export of agricultural and mining products, and which, on the other hand, has to keep an equilibrium in its trade balance and thus has to import a large quantity. By producing itself articles which formerly were imported, it may raise difficulties for its exports, especially at the present time when more and more the system is followed that countries buy in the countries which provide a large market for their own products.

Therefore the Government has been very careful in encouraging industries. It will by no means stimulate industrialization too far, because this would endanger the export possibilities, but it has considered that a moderate development of industries might in some way offer compensation for the unfavourable effects of the depression, and that in so far some protection was justified.

There was, moreover, the necessity of providing new avenues for employment. In some districts, especially in the sugar areas in Java, native unemployment has been assuming alarming proportions, as has been shown in previous pages. It was hoped that in establishing European factories some new scope for native employment would be found. Especially with a view to enlarging the possibilities for native employment and providing the inhabitants of certain districts with an income, the Government has taken up the extension of native industries.

There exist a number of native industries some of which are of vital importance to the population, such as weaving and batik industries, the metal industry and oil factories. In the present conditions the weaving industry can be considered as the most interesting; it is especially this industry which has been enlarged considerably in various regions with the support of the Government. There are only a very few weaving industries on a rather large scale, but most of them are small workshops which manufacture for the greater part coloured woven piece goods with hand looms; the number of hand looms is at present estimated at over 6,000, which means eight times more than in 1931; besides some 700 machine looms have been at work lately. The home production of textiles is, however, still a small percentage of the consumption, but it already gives employment to some 12,000.

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In general the Government supports the home industries by supplying them with orders and asking local governments to do likewise.

As a rule the tariff policy has not been made subservient to the protection of home industries. The only special measures which are an exception in this respect were the following: in 1933 the import duty levied on cotton and rayon yarn for the weaving industry was withdrawn; in 1934 an ordinance empowered the Governor-General to exempt machinery and apparatus for the establishment of new industrial concerns from paying import duty and to extend this exemption to raw materials to be manufactured there for a period not exceeding two years, where such exemption was considered in the interest of the country.

Only in special cases protective measures against destructive foreign competition have been taken on behalf of home industries, when the Government has been of opinion that the advantages to be derived for the population are more valuable than the tendency to a higher cost price, which might result from such protection. We shall mention these when dealing with crisis measures, in connection with commercial policy.

In order to prevent destructive competition of new industries with those now in existence the Industry Regulating Ordinance of 1934 opens the possibility of making the establishment of certain industries conditional on a Government permit. In this way the establishment of new industries in the Netherlands Indies, domestic as well as foreign, can be prohibited in cases where the existent industries are able amply to supply the need.

The ordinance, which has provisionally been enacted for a period of three years, has been brought into effect in regard to printing-offices, warehouse companies, cigarette factories, metal foundries, weaving industries and ice factories.

Trade Policy

Various reasons have thus brought it about that in the years after 1931 the rather passive character of Dutch economic policy has gradually been changed into a more active one. The Netherlands Indies have as long as possible attempted to hold aloof from the policy of protection which has become more and more acute over the whole world. When, however, as a consequence of the high tariff walls and other protective measures everywhere, free trade had become a complete illusion, the Netherlands Indies Government was compelled to provide for a temporary protection of its market and of its home industries, which are in process of development.

The purposes kept in view by the Netherlands Indies Govern-

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ment, in modifying its commercial policy, may be summarized as follows: to protect the Netherlands Indies industry against extraordinary imports, to protect imports from the mother country, to favour the imports from those countries which are important purchasers of Netherlands Indies produce, and finally to regulate equally the importers' interests. Measures relating to commerce had to be adopted in such a way that the price level of import goods was maintained as low as possible.

Tariffs

In planning measures to face the consequences of the changes in world economics the Netherlands Indies Government has not allowed the tariff policy to undergo a fundamental change. The tariff system has a fiscal character and it has maintained this character during the years of depression. Besides, the system is not preferential in so far that no discrimination whatever is made between imports from the mother country and from foreign countries.

Since 1934 the import duties have been considerably raised because the revenue from this source was diminished as a consequence of the depression and because a rise was indispensable in view of the deplenished state of the national finances.

As a rule raw material and semi-manufactured articles are taxed 6 per cent., those out of which luxury articles are to be made 12 per cent.; a general duty of 12 per cent. is levied on goods for consumption, one of 20 per cent. on all goods having some character of luxury. All duties are temporarily raised by an additional 50 per cent.

The increase of import tariffs has not had any concealed intention of limiting competition from foreign countries in favour of the home industries. There are only two special tariff prescriptions which have been enacted with a view to protecting home industry and which have already been mentioned above.

As the Government would not make the tariff system subservient to commercial policy a system of quotas seemed for the time being to be most suitable to serve its objects. Afterwards some other emergency measures of a commercial political character had to be taken.

As it was foreseen that for various articles crisis measures would become indispensable in order to resist trade difficulties, a general ordinance, the Crisis Import Ordinance, which made it possible to limit the import of certain articles during a certain period by virtue of Government decrees, was brought into effect in September, 1933.

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However, already in June, 1933, a limitation of cement import was considered urgent and therefore promulgated as a separate decree, which was afterwards included in the general import ordinance; we shall revert to it later.

Rice Import

Another measure, which is, however, of another character, referring to rice imports, was considered to be of immediate urgency. Large quantities of rice have always been imported, though home production is considerable and has been extended during the last few years.

In 1933 a sharp fall in rice prices in consequence of the large surplus in the neighbouring producing countries Burma, Siam and Indochina, which import rice to the Netherlands Indies, occurred together with the extension of rice cultivation in Java, following from the shrinkage in the area of sugar estates. This fact threatened to cause a dislocation of the Netherlands Indies rice market and therefore made a regulation on short term necessary.

For this purpose a provisional prohibition of imports was issued, which was afterwards replaced by a more definite system of limited import on licences, to be allowed on the basis of imports in previous years, whilst some districts were closed for imports. In order to promote the inter-insular traffic of rice, premiums were granted for the transport of rice from districts with a rice surplus to other parts where there was a shortage. This measure resulted in a better distribution of rice from Java to the other islands. Afterwards a rice transport prohibition was issued to prevent inter-insular shipments of rice from disericts left open for import to others where this was not the case.

The measures for restricting the importation of rice into the Outer Islands were of great value for maintaining the price of the product. But at the end of 1934 it became obvious that the Java production would not be sufficient to cover home consumption. To avoid disturbance in the price the Government decided to buy rice in foreign countries and to sell it at a fixed rate. Besides, it was necessary to open various territories in the Outer Islands for import from abroad, because the excesses of other districts, especially Lombok and Southern Celebes, proved to be insufficient to cover the shortage.

The rice policy of the Netherlands Indies Government aims at protecting the native agriculturist by limiting imports and thus preventing a fall in prices. It protects the rice-consuming population by regulating distribution and by guarding against prices being forced up by speculators by opening districts for imports

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when necessary. It may be said that the measures have been quite successful. Rice imports into Java decreased from 346,000 tons in 1928 to 62,000 tons in 1934; in those years the Java production rose from 3,245,000 tons to 3,543,000 tons; in 1935 imports had again to be raised to 108,000 tons. For the other islands the imports decreased from 584,000 tons in 1928 to 279,000 in 1934 and 247,000 in 1935.

In addition to this regulation an agreement was made with Holland as to the import of a quantity of high quality Netherlands Indies rice with exemption from payment of the special crisis duty. A similar agreement has been entered into with regard to the import of a quantity of Netherlands Indies maize into Holland, because there was a surplus which it was difficult to dispose of at reasonable prices. However, soon after the agreement became effective the market in the East recovered.

The cultivation of another native foodcrop, soya beans, has been quickly extended during the last few years, especially in consequence of large sugar areas having become free for native crops. As the home supply of soya beans has so far been insufficient, a rather large quantity had to be imported from Manchoukuo. Now the sale of the home product was hampered as a consequence of the Manchoukuo product being imported at extraordinarily low prices. In order to protect the interests of native agriculturists a regulation of the same kind as the rice regulation was promulgated, with the result that prices rose. With regard to rice as well as soya beans it was in this way assured that the whole supply could find an outlet at reasonable prices.

Crisis Import Ordinance

In the Crisis Import Ordinance the general lines of a quota system have been drawn up to be worked out in decrees relating to the articles concerned.

As a rule it has been considered sufficient to follow a system of free quotas according to which only the total quantity to be imported is stipulated, and not a system of quotas by countries in which the share allowed to each country is fixed. The possibility to reserve a quota for certain countries has been left open in cases where such a country is willing to promote the import of Netherlands Indies products; this method has, however, not been applied up to 1936. An exception to the free quota system has been made as regards the mother country in so far that in various quota decrees, which have chiefly been enacted with a view to protecting the import from Holland, a certain percentage has been allotted to that country. Under a free quota system the price of the import articles which are limited is mostly guaranteed to remain low,

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because importers reserve the freedom to buy goods in the cheapest market.

Though in such a free quota system the various import countries are treated on an equal basis, still the imports from Japan suffer most from the limitation, as in the last few years the imports from Japan have risen very much, and as in most quota decrees the period immediately before these years has been chosen to serve as a basis for the quantity to be imported.

Import is only allowed through the intermediary of importers in the Netherlands Indies who have been registered as such. This regulation has been inserted to protect the existing distribution apparatus. Quota decrees contain the provision that importers can obtain licences in proportion to their imports in a certain basic period or—as has been prescribed in the later decrees—in a reasonable proportion to their interest. The system first adopted in some decrees according to which a certain percentage of the quota had to be allotted to importers who are members of a number of European trade associations, with a view to protecting the import apparatus, has been abandoned. In May, 1935, an addition was inserted in the quota decrees which makes it possible to stipulate that a percentage of goods has to be imported under the Dutch flag, in cases where the existence of Dutch navigation between the Netherlands Indies and a foreign country would be threatened as a consequence of a measure against it. This ordinance is intended as a preventive measure to protect Dutch shipping in exceptional circumstances.

The quota decrees can only be in force during a period of ten months; when after that time the measures have to be extended the matter must be regulated by ordinance.

Apart from the quota decrees import licence decrees have been issued; they are not intended to limit imports but only to regulate distribution among the importers. The abundant Japanese imports led to another danger—viz., to a possible dislocation of the existing distribution apparatus—because the Japanese exporters were inclined to eliminate altogether the established import firms and to develop a new import apparatus both in wholesale and retail trade. In order to prevent excessive changes in the distribution process the Government has accepted a system of licensing of importers, by which the import of a number of articles including glassware, enamelware, bicycles, earthenware, various kinds of metal ware, soap, etc., has been licensed and thus equally distributed over the vested importers.

Some of the most important quota decrees may be dealt with briefly.

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Cement

The import of cement was limited with a view to protecting the cement industry in Padang (Sumatra) which suffered from the abundant imports of Japanese cement. At the end of 1931 the Padang industry supplied the Netherlands Indies market with 66 per cent. of its cement consumption, at the beginning of 1933 its share was only 20 per cent. The existence of this industry was felt to be of vital importance, because it provides employment, uses much coal and employs considerable transportation space. The import quota which was first fixed for the period of four months, but which on the basis of the Crisis Import Ordinance has been extended several times up to the present, has been fixed at about one-third of the estimated consumption.

The Government has fixed the prices in order to prevent them from being upset. As a result of the quota measure the import of cement decreased from 132,200 tons in 1932 to 52,300 tons in 1934.

Beer

Another Netherlands Indies industry which was hampered by the import of cheap products is the brewing industry, which has been in existence since 1931. The imports of beer, which came for the greater part from Germany and Holland, and which in 1929 amounted to 130,000 hl., decreased in 1932 by one-half, because consumption could partly be satisfied by the home product.

In 1933 import showed again a considerable rise, because of the big import of Japanese beer which was sold at such a low price that the very existence of the Netherlands Indies breweries was threatened. Accordingly a decree was enacted in December, 1933, which limited the import to such an amount that 60 per cent. of the consumption would be covered by home production, and which at the same time protected Dutch imports by allowing a certain percentage to Holland.

Textiles

A series of important quota decrees refers to the imports of various textiles, coloured woven, bleached, unbleached and other piece goods. The necessity of these measures was in the first place due to the excessive rise of the imports from Japan. It cannot be denied that the import of various kinds of textiles at very low prices has stood the native population in good stead, but on the other hand the import of sarongs threatened to affect the native weaving industry seriously. The Japanese imports of bleached and other textiles has, moreover, had a fatal influence

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on the imports from Holland and also on those from Great Britain.

A lowering of the prices of the European piece goods has not had any effect in checking the flood of Japanese imports.

In former years the imports from Japan consisted for the greater part of unbleached textiles, but gradually she has taken a great deal of the import of all piece goods in hand. She has considerably raised the total imports of coloured woven goods, the greater part of which were formerly imported from Holland and Great Britain, and she has started to manufacture bleached textiles at a lower price than those which have during a series of years constituted a big export product from Holland.

The enormous advance of the Japanese share in the imports of piece goods as a whole is shown in the figures below.

PERCENTAGE IN TEXTILE IMPORTS IN YARDS.

	1928.	1931.	1932.	1933.	1934.	1935.
Netherlands ...	25·6	22·7	14·0	4·4	7·3	11·3
Great Britain ...	27·1	9·7	9·1	4·0	2·8	2·2
Japan	30·8	54·1	66·4	82·8	83·1	83·2
Other countries ...	16·5	13·5	10·5	8·7	6·8	3·3

In 1933 it was considered indispensable to stay the flood of colour woven goods which before 1932 were imported by Holland and Great Britain, but which came afterwards from Japan to such an extent that the Netherlands Indies industry could no longer sell their own products.

IMPORTS OF COLOUR WOVEN SARONGS, ETC., IN "CORGES" (20 PIECES).

	Holland.	*Great Britain.*	*Japan.*	*Singapore.*	*Total.*
1930 ...	190,103	69,665	7,716	132,519	447,953
1933 ...	19,698	984	713,034	133,393	909,056
1934 ...	5,953	—	314,244	30,611	375,992
1935 ...	27,450	—	351,340	8,700	400,100

A certain percentage in the import quota of the various kinds of colour woven goods, except in the case of the cheap qualities, has been reserved to Holland. The quota measure has been modified on several occasions and has been continued up to the present.

The limitation of imports has had a favourable effect on the development of the home weaving industry; it has already been mentioned that the number of looms has been considerably extended with the help of the Government.

The figures in the table above show, however, that the Dutch imports have not immediately experienced a rise; in 1935, however, they have improved.

The quota decree of March, 1934, concerning bleached textiles

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has been enacted specially with a view to the Dutch imports, which have tremendously suffered from the Japanese rush. The measure includes various kinds of bleached textiles and has with some modifications been continued to the present day. It has, moreover, been considered quite undesirable that the Netherlands Indies batik industry should become dependent on the monopoly of Japanese imports.

The course of imports of the various cambrics into Java may be seen from the following figures:

	Holland.		*Great Britain.*		*Japan.*		
	1,000 *yards.*	%	1,000 *yards.*	%	1,000 *yards.*	%	*Total.*
1930 ...	89,212	87	9,271	6	7,440	7	103,119
1933 ...	16,773	17	1,394	1	82,327	82	100,547
1934 ...	30,523	36	592	1	54,251	63	85,549
1935 ...	41,937	61	314	0·5	26,363	38	68,614

During the first period of the quota decree the imports from Holland were considerably raised, but not to such a degree that the percentage reserved for the various goods could be attained; the share for cambrics amounted to no more than 36 per cent., whereas the quota allowed was 61 per cent. One of the causes was that the price level of those groups of goods, which for the greater part had been reserved for Holland, had risen; that of the other goods, which were chiefly imported from Japan, however, had not done so. Another cause was that a part of the import of bleached goods was replaced by unbleached, or rather by piece goods which were first bleached and afterwards somewhat coloured, the so-called greys, which were suitable for the batik industry. That led to the necessity of a limitation of unbleached textiles, the import of which had suddenly assumed very large proportions during the year 1934; as to the country of origin, this import has been left entirely free. The measure has been continued up to now.

In 1935 the imports of bleached textiles from Holland has improved; during the first half-year its percentage in the cambric import rose to 53 per cent. In particular the quota measure with regard to bleached piece goods has resulted in a rise of prices, which was unprofitable to the batik industry. Therefore in the supplementary budget for 1936 a sum was voted to indemnify the batik industries in such a way that in future they will pay a lower price and that the difference will be refunded to the importers.

At the end of 1935 a decree was promulgated with a view to limiting the import of a large number of piece goods which had not yet been brought under the other decrees; for a part of them

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a percentage for Dutch imports has been reserved. For 1936 it has been modified in such a way that as to some fancy articles which are of importance for Great Britain it has been made possible to allot a percentage to that country, and that afterwards likewise a certain quota could be allowed to Italy. This allowance of a share of the quota to countries other than the mother country is a new trend, which has been made possible in the Crisis Import Ordinance but not used so far, and which endeavours to promote in that way reciprocity of trade between the Netherlands Indies and European countries, which are important markets for Netherlands Indies products.

Another decree enacted in February, 1936, concerns the import of various kinds of clothing, the rising Japanese import of which has become harmful to native tailors in the Netherlands Indies.

Other Quota Decrees

In the course of 1934 and 1935 a number of articles have been brought under quota decrees. We shall not deal with these measures in detail, but only mention them here in passing; all of them have been enacted because a sudden rise of imports from Japan either threatened the home industry, as was the case with iron frying-pans, an article used to a large extent by the natives and up to now manufactured at home, and tyres, which have recently been made in the Netherlands Indies, or because it diverted imports from the mother country as in the case of artificial manures, electric incandescent lamps, cotton blankets and bath towels, sanitary earthenware, paper, cotton sewing thread and other articles.

General Trade Protection

Some general measures have been adopted with a view to emergency circumstances and with the object of meeting the growing requirements of reciprocity in trade.

Such a measure is the Trade Control Ordinance of August, 1935, which contains a regulation to combat difficulties which may possibly arise from a dependence on one country for the import of goods which are necessities. In the event of the import of such goods being stopped or considerably decreased, the Governor-General can appoint a commission which will be empowered to prevent stocks from being held or sold only at extraordinarily high prices to the detriment of consumers. In this way the inhabitants will be protected till it has been found possible to obtain such goods from another country of origin. The

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regulation is only a precautionary measure for exceptional circumstances, and it is hoped that it will not have to be applied.

The same may be said of the law giving a competence for retorsion measures similar to that which has been enacted in Holland. It empowers the Netherlands Indies to establish import prohibitions or import limitations or to levy a special import duty with regard to countries which treat the Netherlands Indies in a particularly unfavourable way or in a way which threatens the existence of the country. As a matter of fact this law is only intended to give powers in abnormal times, as the application of it would at the same time annihilate the whole economic political system of the country.

Some mention has already been made of the present economic relation between Holland and the Netherlands Indies which ensures that in all reciprocity treaties into which the mother country enters the Netherlands Indies interests are carefully observed.

Likewise the clearing treaties signed by Holland have gradually been declared applicable to the Netherlands Indies, because the Government considered it necessary to come to a centralized settlement of mutual debts and to assure in that way the ready payments of Netherlands Indies exports.

Protection of Shipping

Not only foreign trade but also shipping acquired a different aspect in the years of depression and attention was increasingly given to the question of its protection. We have already mentioned in passing that the Japanese have endeavoured to keep the carriage of their export goods to the Netherlands Indies as much as possible in their own hands at the cost of Dutch shipping companies. Negotiations with Japan with regard to mutual shipping interests have not led to any result.

The prescriptions inserted into the Crisis Import Ordinance relating to the possibility of fixing a percentage of goods to be transported under the Dutch flag points to the fact that precautionary steps against endangering the interests of national shipping have been considered necessary in view of the abnormal circumstances.

At the end of 1935 new legislation concerning navigation and ports was drawn up, to come into effect within a short time. The regulations are in line with the present economic policy, and they are especially of importance in regard to the traffic of foreign ships and coastal traffic. Up to the present distinct regulations as to navigation in the territories under direct government and those under self-government were in force. In future the regulation

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will become uniform, and in connection herewith the distinction between the ports will be modified. Ports will be divided into "seaports," open to traffic from abroad (all ports of some importance will be indicated as such), and "coastal ports." In general navigation under a foreign flag will be limited to the "seaports." Exception may be made on behalf of native trade and industry in so far that by Government decree navigation from abroad into a coastal port may be allowed equally to the Dutch and to foreign flags under special conditions. The principle that coastal traffic is only allowed to the Dutch flag will be maintained and even somewhat extended so that it will in general be prohibited to foreign flags in all ports including the "seaports." This proscription has been made because of the vital importance of coastal shipping in the Netherlands Indies. In connection with the regulation concerning navigation, new rules as to nationality papers of ships will become effective.

Protection of Employment

As an outcome of the present circumstances and especially to prevent an increase of unemployment, foreigners cannot be admitted unreservedly into the Netherlands Indies. Accordingly, in order to protect the labour market of the Netherlands Indies, a regulation was drawn up at the end of 1933 to prevent excessive immigration of foreigners. By virtue of a Government decree the maximum number of immigrants is laid down annually; for 1934 and 1935 the number has been fixed at 12,000, to be equally divided over fifteen groups of nationalities.

A stronger measure was enforced in August, 1935—viz., the Crisis Ordinance on Foreign Labour—which limits the labour of foreigners in such a way that in the absence of a permit issued by the Director of Justice it is forbidden to employ any alien of European descent who is admitted to the colony for the first time after the promulgation of the ordinance or readmitted after an absence of over one year. The provision is an emergency measure and will only remain in operation until January, 1938. Before the depression, when there was work for everybody, foreign labour met with no obstacles, and in the last few years about 900 foreigners yearly entered the Netherlands Indies; but now that the situation is wholly changed this limitation has become necessary.

From this short survey it can be seen what changes have taken place in the Netherlands Indies during the period of depression, and in what manner the Government has tried to overcome the difficulties and to reconcile conflicting interests. In closing this chapter stress may be once more laid on the fact that the change

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in economic policy is of a purely temporary character, and that the Netherlands Indies may be considered to be still in a position to profit immediately from a revival in international conditions.

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N.B.—In the first part of this article (October, 1936, pages 785-809) the following corrections should be noted:

Page 788, line 7, *for* 700,000 *read* 400,000.
Page 794, line 9 from bottom, *after the word* tobacco *insert the following footnote:* Leaf tobacco is not included, not being a native product.
Page 796, *in the title of the first table omit the word* agricultural.
Page 801, line 25, the price in London per lb. is quoted in pence.
Page 802, line 7 from bottom, *for* $7\frac{1}{2}$ *read* $71\frac{1}{2}$.
Page 803, line 29, *for* 15·5 to 84·5 *read* 84·5 to 15·5.

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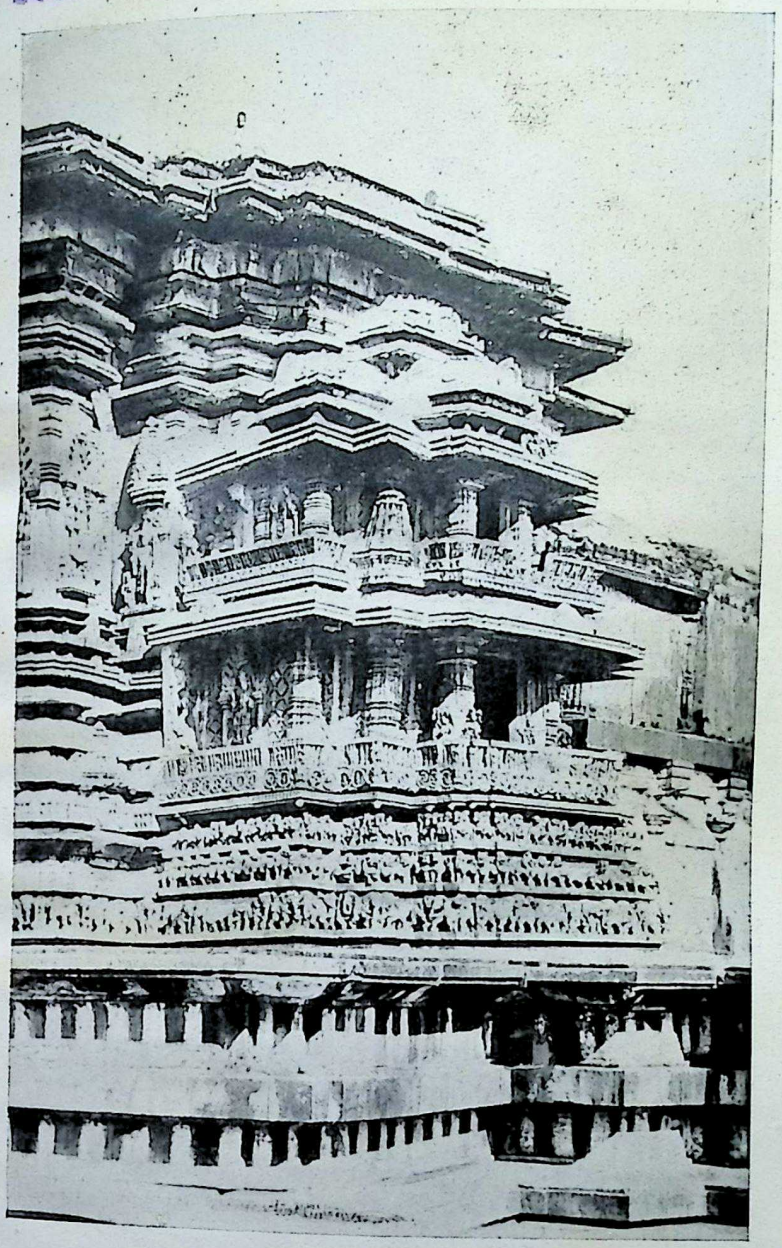
सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFRENCE BOOK



ANOTHER VIEW OF TEMPLE AT BELUR.

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NOT TO BE ISSUED

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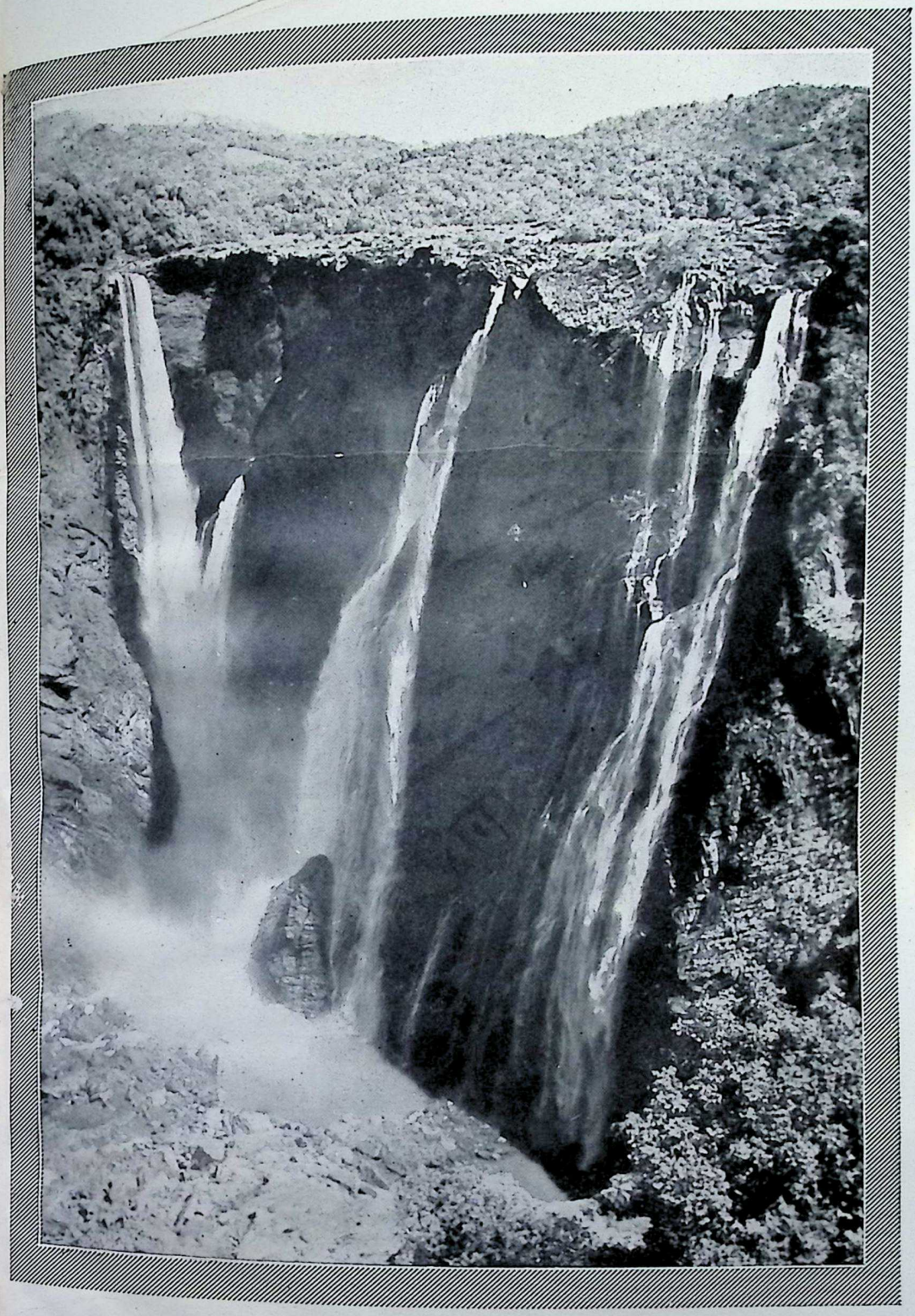

GERSOPPA FALLS.

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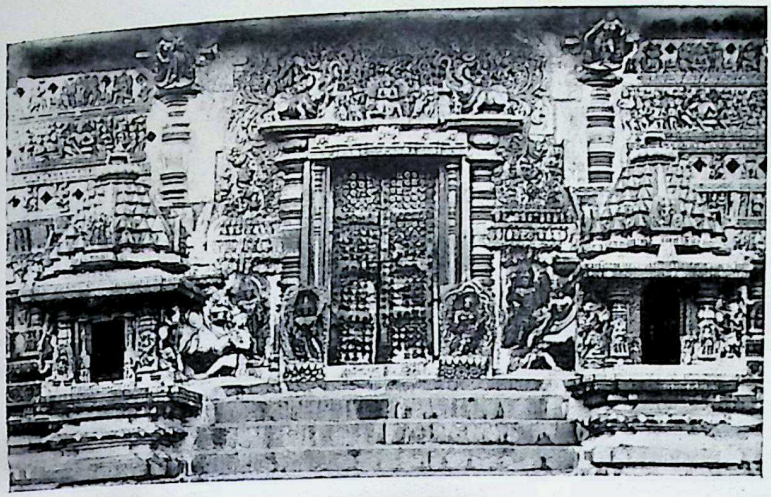
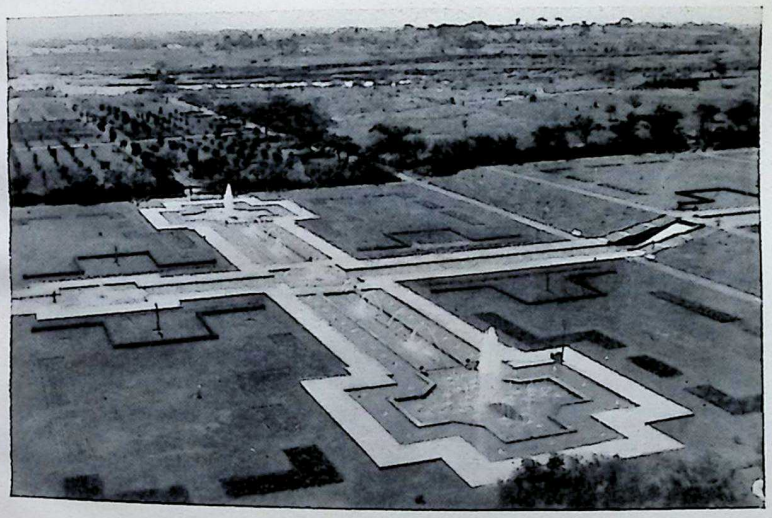


TEMPLE AT BELUR.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE "BRINDAVAN" GARDENS.

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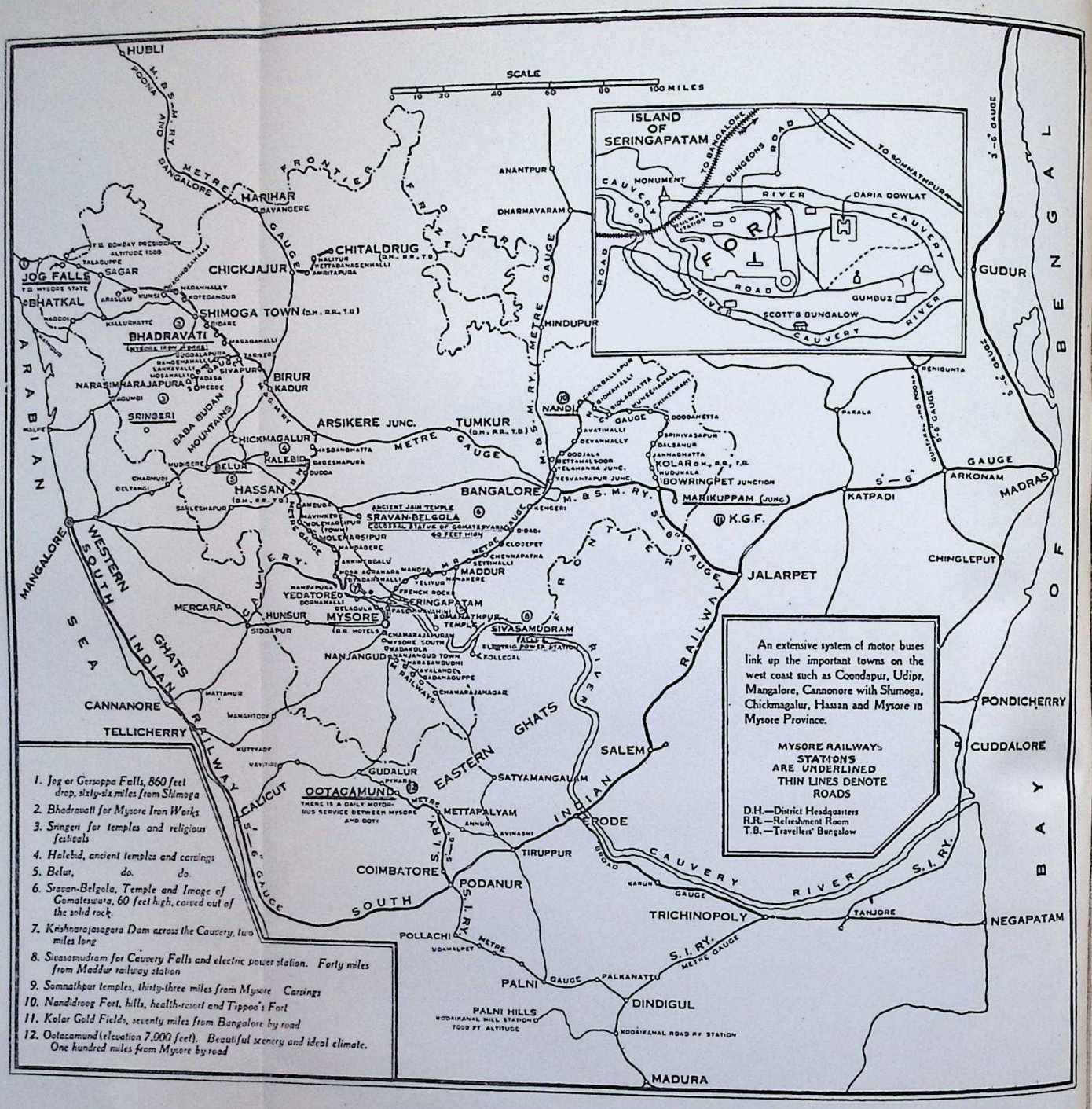

TOURIST'S GUIDE MAP.

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MYSORE STATE AS A TOURIST RESORT

By T. V. A. Isvaran

Introduction

Of all places in India few are more attractive, fruitful or rewarding to the tourist than the picturesque State of Mysore. Situated in the south with a general elevation of 2,000 to 3,000 feet above sea-level, it enjoys a mild and equable climate. The State covers an area of 29,483 square miles and has a population of nearly seven millions. It offers unending interest to every taste. It is a land of lofty mountains, primeval forests and lovely waterfalls; it is the special haunt of the tiger, the bison and the wild elephant; the peculiar home of sandal and teak; the chief garden in India for coffee cultivation, and it yields by far the largest quantity of gold of any country in the East. In relation to humanity again, it has been the home of two of the greatest philosophers of India—Shankara and Ramunaja—whose tenets are to this day followed by millions of Hindus. Many forms of faith have been established here and left their deep impression on the country. The State has some of the largest pioneer industrial undertakings in India, such as the gold mines of Kolar, the iron and steel works at Bhadravati, the Mysore sugar factory at Mandya and the sandal oil factory at Mysore. It is one of the largest producers of silk, soap and sandal oil. The tourist who wishes to see an up-to-date Indian State situated amidst wonderful scenery and setting cannot do better than visit Mysore.

The history of the land is as varied as it is interesting. Tradition connects it with many a legend, teeming with romance, of the great Indian epics, the Ramayaṇa and the Mahabharata. Coming down to more historic times, the country formed part of the empire of Asoka, whose famous edicts and pillars are to be found in the extreme north of the State. Later, it was the birthplace of three great royal races dominant in the south—the Kadambas, the Hoysalas and the Kings of Vijayanagar. In the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries Mysore was ruled by a succession of Kings of the Hoysala dynasty, whose religious devotion and piety expressed itself in building ornate shrines, the like of which it would be hard to find anywhere else in India. These shrines are unrivalled for their delicacy of carving and mastery of design. Thanks to the impetus given by the Kings of this dynasty, Hindu architecture and sculpture received their fullest develop-

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ment and perfection in Mysore in the thirteenth century, which witnessed the Gothic renaissance in Europe. The temples at Somanathpur, Belur and Halebid, which were built then, still stand to witness the marvellous powers of invention and skill of India's master-builders of seven centuries ago. Their beauty was so well known, even in the early days, that it attracted a Turkish traveller, Abdur Razzack, in 1430 A.D. On seeing them he was so charmed that he dared not attempt any description of their wonder and beauty, fearing he would be accused of exaggeration.

Mysore came under the present reigning dynasty in the fourteenth century. Since then it has been governed by a succession of distinguished Rulers. For a few years towards the close of the eighteenth century, the real power in the State passed into the hands of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. In 1799, however, Tippu was defeated by the British in the famous battle of Seringapatam, and the Hindu reigning dynasty was restored to its former power in the person of Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III.

The present Ruler, His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV., ascended the throne in 1894 and assumed the administration of the country in 1902. The ultimate authority in the State is His Highness the Maharaja, who is assisted in the administration of the country by an Executive Council consisting of the Dewan as President and two Members. The present Dewan of the State is Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza Muhammad Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., There are two constitutional bodies to help in the administration —namely, the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, composed mostly of elected representatives of the people.

Dasara Festivities

The best time to visit Mysore is on the occasion of Dasara festivities, when the visitor may combine a tour of the State with the unique Dasara sight-seeing in the city of Mysore. These festivities, which generally fall in September-October every year, are observed in Mysore City with true oriental pomp and pageantry. They extend over ten days, and every evening the Maharaja sits on his jewelled throne (Simhasan), which, according to Hindu jurisprudence, is an emblem of sovereignty, and receives the obeisance of his subjects. The scene in the courtyard of the palace is thrilling to a degree. The throne originally belonged to the Kings of Vijayanagar, and on the disruption of their kingdom in the sixteenth century it passed into the hands of Raja Wadiyar of the present dynasty in 1610. Since then his descendants have been sitting on this throne following the tradition laid down by him three centuries ago. The throne is of fig-wood, overlaid with gold. Its surface is covered with gold and

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silver figures and arabesques. From its arms hang tassels of pearls. Overhead is a pearl-fringed umbrella, surmounted by a mythical jewelled bird, of which legend asserts that "The head on which its shadow falls will wear a crown." On the tenth day of Dasara the Maharaja goes in a procession through the principal streets of the city, seated in a golden howdah on an elephant. The procession, which is headed by camels, and accompanied by elephants, horses richly caparisoned, palanquins and silver coaches, the standard-bearers with silken banners, slowly winds its way with a splendour and magnificence which is unsurpassed in the whole of India. The city of Mysore presents during the Dasara the appearance of a veritable fairyland.

Bangalore

Few places in India have a greater wealth of beauty spots than Mysore, or are so rich in picturesque scenery and places of historic interest and legendary glamour. It is not possible here to do more than briefly refer to some of the attractions which Mysore has to offer to the visitor. A tour of the State may conveniently begin from the principal city of Bangalore, which is connected by rail with Madras and Bombay. The old town of Bangalore, the possession of which was fiercely coveted by the powers in South India in the seventeenth century, has gradually extended so that it now covers an area of nearly 25 square miles, and with its population of 306,000 ranks as the ninth city in India. It consists of two separate but adjacent blocks, Bangalore City proper and the Civil and Military Station. The administration of the latter has been made over to the British Government for purposes of a cantonment, and the station is the headquarters of the Madras District area of the Indian Army. The city proper is the seat of the Government of Mysore. Bangalore is replete with modern comforts, and it has, with its mild climate, lured many from British India who have made it their permanent home. It is a city of parks and public gardens, of large public offices, colleges, hospitals and other institutions. It is fast developing into a great industrial centre. The Mysore sandal soap, which commands such a wide popularity, is manufactured here. The soap factory may be visited, as also the Government electric factory, porcelain factory and industrial laboratory. Other places of interest are the Maharaja's palace, the public gardens, called the Lalbagh, and the Indian Institute of Science.

The large artificial lake, called Chamarajasagar, which supplies drinking water to Bangalore, is well worth a visit. It is situated 22 miles from Bangalore and may be reached by car or bus.

Close to Bangalore (35 miles) and connected with it by a light

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railway lies the hill station of Nandi (4,851 feet above sea-level), which has a salubrious climate all the year round. With its fortifications, the ruins of which may still be seen, it was a formidable stronghold in the eighteenth century, and was captured by the British Army under Lord Cornwallis in 1791. It now serves the purpose of a popular summer resort with fine furnished bungalows provided with electric lights and has excellent catering arrangements—vegetarian as well as non-vegetarian.

Kolar Gold Field

Those who wish to have the thrill of going down 6,000 or 7,000 feet into the bowels of the earth may make a short trip of 60 miles from Bangalore by car, or railway on the Bangalore-Madras line, to the Kolar Gold Field, which contains some of the deepest mines in the world. There are four companies, formed and financed in England, working on the Kolar Gold Field under mining leases granted by the Government of Mysore. These mines have reached very great depths, and the lowest working level in the Champion Reef mine is now 7,600 feet vertically below the surface. Over 20,000 men are employed in the mines, and nearly 13,000 of them work underground. Machinery worked by electricity is used on an extensive scale, the power being supplied by the Government of Mysore from the generating station at Sivasamudram, 92 miles away. All the mines are in quite a flourishing condition, the total output of gold from 1882 to 1934 being 17,909,070 ounces, valued at £79,512,815. The leases of these companies were recently renewed by the Government of Mysore for a further period of 30 years from 1940. For permission to see the mines, application should be made to the superintendent of the mines concerned or to the Chief Inspector of Mines, Oorgaum, Kolar Gold Field.

Sivasamudram and Mandya

The tourist may next proceed from Bangalore to Mysore, the capital of the State, after seeing the famous waterfalls at Sivasamudram (Siva's Ocean) and the sugar factory at Mandya on the way. Sivasamudram is reached by a good crossroad, 30 miles in length, from Maddur, an intermediate railway station on the Bangalore-Mysore line. The River Cauvery branches here into two streams, each of which makes a descent of about 200 feet in a succession of picturesque rapids and cascades. The northern one is known as Gagana Chukki (heavenly spray) and the one on the south as Bar Chukki (heavy spray). At the northern cataract the stream rushes precipitously over the edge of a tremendous

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abyss, and, dashing over vast boulders of rock in a cloud of foam, hurls itself into a deep pool below. The southern cataract is perhaps even finer than the northern one. During the rainy season the river pours over the hillside in an unbroken volume, a quarter of a mile across, but in the dry months it is divided into several distinct falls of great splendour, which the tourist can contemplate at his ease as he discusses his lunch on the opposite side of the stream. The surrounding scenery is extremely grand, the hills being clothed in dense forest, and the whole locality leaves an indelible impression on the mind of the visitor.

Sivasamudram is also noted for its large electric generating station. The possibility of harnessing the falls for generating electricity was visualised by the administrators of Mysore even in the very early days of electrical engineering before the close of the nineteenth century, and the development of electric energy was first established in Mysore as early as 1902 by the installation of generating units in the power house at Sivasamudram. The initial plant had a capacity of 3,600 kilowatts. With the growing demands of the State, the plant was gradually increased in capacity until it now comprises a total effective capacity of 34,500 kilowatts. It is proposed to increase it further to 40,000 kilowatts. The transmission system has kept pace with generation, and it now embraces a high-tension route mileage of about 550 miles, traversing the greater part of the State and having further ramifications for supplying no less than 130 towns and villages.

The sugar factory at Mandya, which lies on the trunk road from Bangalore to Mysore and on the Bangalore-Mysore Railway line, is the largest of its kind in India. It produces well over 20,000 tons of sugar a year. It is proposed to extend the capacity of the factory so as to make it possible to produce 40,000 tons a year.

Mysore City

The city of Mysore, with its lovely pleasances and delightful parks, is acknowledged to be "a garden city" and "the cleanest city in India." It lies by the side of a rocky hill named after the Goddess Chamundi, which lends the city a pleasing picturesqueness. The city has been so greatly improved that persons who had seen Mysore two decades ago would hardly recognize the present handsome and growing city, with its magnificent wide roads and imposing buildings. Mysore has been the capital of the State ever since 1799. The Maharaja's Palace, which stands in the old fort, is admittedly one of the most beautiful buildings in India. It is an imposing structure, 145 feet high, and took 14 years to complete. It is built of many varieties of stones, and "is

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unsurpassed," says Sir George Watt, "by any other stone work in India." The general appearance and the outline of the palace are Indo-Saracenic, but the details are distinctly Hoyesala in character. From the basement to the top, the surface is adorned with sculptures of the very best class of Indian art.

The Mysore specialities of silk and sandal oil are produced in the city of Mysore. The Government silk weaving factory is equipped with Swiss and French looms, and manufactures high-grade fabrics, such as georgette, crêpe-de-chine and satins, and also silk handkerchiefs and ties. The sandal oil produced by the Government sandal oil factory at Mysore is noted for its purity and its essential aromatic properties. It is largely exported to Europe, America and Japan. Other notable places in the city are the Mysore University buildings, the Curzon Park, Lalitha Mahal, the zoological gardens and the Chamundi Hills.

Excursions from Mysore City

Mysore City is the most convenient centre from which to visit the following places: Krishnaraja Sagar, 10 miles; Somanathapur, 33 miles; Seringapatam, 11 miles; Melkote, 31 miles (20 miles from Seringapatam).

At Krishnaraja Sagar there is the second largest reservoir in India, named in honour of His Highness the present Maharaja, in whose reign it was constructed. The dam is $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles long, and is intended to store 124 feet of depth of water. The reservoir has a water spread of 50 square miles, and has helped to bring under cultivation 120,000 acres of land situated in some of the most arid tracts of the State. By the side of the dam are laid out in exquisite taste the terrace gardens, known as the Brindavan, which rise in a series of ascending terraces on both banks of the river-bed, and contain beautiful lawns and colourful beds, sweet-scented bushes and shady walks, and cascades and fountains always reflecting changing hues from morning till night. The panorama from any given point is superb and enchanting. Each fountain has an individuality of its own, and one feels as though all the beautiful elements in the fountain world had gathered here for merry-making and enjoyment. With the coming on of night, a battery of multi-coloured searchlights is made to illuminate the fountain sprays, and then each fountain throws up into the air its own shower of jewels. The engineer, the gardener, and, more than all, the artistic mind behind the whole scheme, have combined to make the Brindavan a living realization of the gardens so vividly pictured by Persian poets in their lyrics. It recalls to one's remembrance the couplet, "If there is a paradise on earth, it is this, it is this."

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The shrine at Somanathpur is another marvel of grace and beauty which one should not fail to visit. Its elegance of outline and the marvellous elaboration of detail that characterize it have been admired by all who have seen the temple. It was built, according to an inscription at the entrance, in 1269 A.D. by Soma, a member of the royal family and a high dignitary under King Narasimha III. of the Hoysala dynasty. The temple stands in the middle of an open courtyard, which encloses it as if it were in a frame, and is surmounted by three elegantly carved towers, which in their symmetry and proportions are gems of architecture. The towers are pyramidal in shape and are decorated with lace-like ornaments from top to bottom. Around the exterior base of the temple are sculptured the incidents of the epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and above it are portrayed the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon with various kinds of ornamental canopies above them. The number of large images on the outer walls is 194, and every one of them bespeaks the supreme talent of the Mysore artists of the thirteenth century. The temple is in itself a veritable museum of Indian art.

The greatest interest, however, attaches to Seringapatam as the scene of combats glorious in Indian history. Seringapatam is a small island formed by the River Cauvery, about 3 miles long and a mile broad. It was for long the capital of the Mysore Maharajas, and it was from this island, which its triple fortifications had rendered impregnable, that Tippu carried on his incessant warfare against the British towards the close of the eighteenth century. He was defeated and killed by the British in the battle of Seringapatam in 1799. The historic breach through which the British Army was successfully led into the fort by General Sir David Baird is marked by a simple and plain monument at the south-west angle of the fort. Standing beside it and looking across the river one may very well picture to oneself the difficulties that the besieging army had to surmount. On the historic May 4, 1799, the British troops, entrenched on the other side of the river, crossed its rugged bed at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. They were exposed to a heavy fire from the fort, but they ascended the breach in spite of all opposition from the enemy, and within a short time planted the British flag on the fort. Other places of interest on the island are the Darya Dowlat Bagh (Garden of the Wealth of the Sea), which was the favourite retreat of Tippu, the water-gate in which he died fighting and the Gumbaz or mausoleum in which he and his parents lie entombed.

The peaceful and orderly town of Melkote is a place of pilgrimage for all Hindus. The great philosopher Ramanuja settled here in the eleventh century and renovated the temple of Narayana at Melkote. It was while living here that he wrote his

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commentary on the Vedanta Sutras, which in its broad features anticipated the philosophy of Hegel. The temple has many valuable jewels, and one of them, a diamond crown known as the Vayira Mudi (Sanskrit Vajra majuta), is almost priceless. It is believed to have been presented to the temple by Krishna, the hero of the Mahabharata. The crown is always kept in safe custody in the Mysore Palace, and is exposed to the gaze of the people only once a year during a festival which is generally held in March-April, when it is placed on the head of the image for a night. This festival is attended by thousands of people from all over India.

The traveller may next proceed from Mysore to Hassan either by car or by the Mysore-Arsikers Railway, according to his convenience. Hassan is the best place from which to visit the colossal statue of Gomateswara and the famous temples at Belur and Halebid. The distances from Hassan to these places are: Sravanabelagola, 30 miles; Belur, 25 miles; Halebid, 35 miles (10 miles from Belur).

Buses run daily to these places from Hassan and cars can also be hired at Hassan.

Sravanabelagola lies in the middle of two small hills, and in the whole of the beautiful State of Mysore it would be hard to find a spot where the historic and the picturesque are so infinitely blended. Every inch of it is paved with history and romance. As far back as the third century B.C., Chandragupta Maurya, who built up one of the biggest empires of ancient India, took a vow of absolute renunciation towards the close of his life, like the Indian kings and emperors of yore, and leaving his capital, Pataliputra, in the north, migrated south and finally settled here at Sravanabelagola. The rocky cave in one of the hills in which the emperor spent his last days as an ascetic is still in existence, and is visited by many to whom the historic has a fascinating appeal. Later, in 983 A.D., was erected on the bigger of the two hills the largest known statue in the world. It was set up, as the inscriptions around it tell us, by one Chamundaraya, a powerful local potentate, and represents a Jain saint by name Gomataswara. The statue, which is held in great reverence and worshipped by millions of Jains throughout India, stands 60 feet high and is bigger than any known statue of Rameses in Egypt. The image is cut out of a huge boulder, and its rough surface has been made to yield, by the hand of an unknown artist, an exquisite statue with the calm and beatific smile of a saint. The visitor would be astonished at the amount of labour such a prodigious work must have entailed, and would be puzzled to know whether the statue was a part of the hill itself or had been moved to the spot where it now stands, whether the rock was found *in situ* or was

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moved. "Nothing grander," says Fergusson (the eminent authority on modern architecture and sculpture), "or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt, and even there no known statue surpasses it in height or excels it in the perfection of art it exhibits."

The temple at Belur is one of the most exquisite specimens of Hoysala architecture, and rivals in richness of design and perfection of finish that of the Somanathpur temple. It was built more than nine hundred years ago by the munificence of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana, who was a great patron of the liberal arts and enriched and enhanced the beauty of his country by raising several exquisite monuments, which, for centuries, have been admired by men of all faiths. He was a Jain by religion and was converted to Vaishnavism by Ramanuja. In commemoration of his change of faith he had this beautiful temple at Belur constructed and dedicated in 1117 to the god Vijaya Narayana, whose image is still worshipped in the temple. Fergusson, writing of this temple, observes: "There are many buildings in India which are unsurpassed for delicacy of detail by any in the world, but the temple of Belur surpasses even these for freedom of handling and richness of fancy."

The name of the architect who designed and executed the temple is surrounded with many legends. It is said that he was one Jakanachari by name and that he began and completed each of the three great temples at Somanathpur, Belur and Halebid in a single night. Whoever the architect or architects may have been, there can be no doubt that they have left at Belur, as a gift to posterity, a wonderful shrine, of which "every part is so complicated, so lavishly and yet so harmoniously ornate."

The village of Halebid marks the site on which stood the city of Dvarasamudra, the wealthy capital of the Hoysala kings. The splendour of this ancient city is attested by its architectural monuments, which rank among the masterpieces of Hindu art. The most remarkable of these are the Hoysaleswara and Kedareswara temples. The former is a unique work of art. It was, however, never finished. "Had but this temple been completed, it is," says Fergusson, "one of the buildings on which the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand." He waxes eloquent over its beauty, and says: "A person here sees a greater amount of skilled labour than was ever exhibited in a like space in any other building in the whole world: and the style of workmanship is of a very high order. . . . Every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike, and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy scorning mechanical restraint. All that is wild in human faith or warm in human feeling is found portrayed on its walls."

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From Hassan the traveller may pass on by train to Tarikere, wherefrom a short excursion can easily be made by bus to Sringari, a place of pilgrimage rendered picturesque by the River Tunga. The great Saiva reformer and philosopher Shankara settled here in the eighth century and founded the spiritual throne, which has been occupied down to the present day by as apostolical a succession as the papal chair. The Matha (religious institution) which he founded is perhaps the richest in India and possesses a valuable collection of jewels given by generations of kings and emperors of mediæval India. The head of the Matha is styled the Jagadguru, or "guru of the world," and is possessed of extensive authority and influence. He wears on ceremonial occasions a tiara like the Pope's, covered with pearls and precious stones given by one of the Peshwas (Prime Ministers) of the Mahratta Empire, and a handsome necklace of pearls, with an emerald centre-piece. The jewels of the Goddess Sarada (goddess of learning), which he worships, are of great value, being made of solid gold and set in diamonds, emeralds, rubies and other precious stones. Besides these, there are many figures of gods and goddesses carved out of single pieces of precious stones. Those interested in Sanskrit may visit the library of the Matha, which contains a large number of unpublished manuscripts. The collection as a whole awaits closer examination at the hands of specialists.

Gersoppa Falls

The tourist may finally proceed to the magnificent Falls of Gersoppa. He may take the train at Tarikere for Shimoga, which is the most convenient place from which to visit the falls. On the way to Shimoga lies Bhadravati, where the Mysore iron and steel works are located. The factory is the second largest of its kind in the British Empire and contains the only charcoal blast furnace and wood distillation plant in the East. Bhadravati is the growing industrial centre of the State. A cement factory and a paper mill will, it is proposed, be established there shortly.

The Gersoppa Falls are situated at a distance of 62 miles from Shimoga, and may be reached by car or bus. They eclipse every other fall in the East and have few rivals in any part of the world. The River Sharavati (arrow-born), flowing over a rocky bed of about 250 yards wide, reaches here a tremendous chasm, 960 feet in depth, and takes a stupendous leap in four distinct cascades, presenting a scene of transcendent grandeur and sublimity. The general effect is greatly heightened by the wild and beautiful country around, covered with a wealth of luxuriant vegetation. The largest of the cascades is called the Raja, the next the Roarer, the third the Rocket and the last the Rani. The scene that bursts

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into one's view on peering down the gulf at the head of the falls can hardly be described in words. As one visitor puts it, "one might almost gaze for ever on the abyss, in which a mighty mass of water appears eternally burying itself in a mist-shrouded grave. The clouds of spray which continually ascend heavenwards in slow and majestic wreaths appear to typify the shadowy ghosts of the entombed waters."

Fast train connections make travelling in Mysore easy and pleasant, while plenty of good accommodation is available in modern hotels. The main railway routes pass through exquisite scenery, while those who wish to go into the interior will find good roads, motor-bus lines and a hospitable people at their service.

The following itineraries are suggested for the convenience of tourists:

From Bombay

I

First Day.—Leave Bombay in the evening by the *Deccan Queen.*

Third Day.—Arrive Shimoga at 6 hours. Visit Jog Falls and back and leave Shimoga at night.

Fourth Day.—Arrive Hassan in the morning. Visit Belur and Halebid and back to Hassan.

Fifth Day.—Sravanbelagola and back to Hassan and leave for Mysore at 16 hours, arrive Mysore at 19 hours.

Sixth and Seventh Days.—Mysore halt. Visit local places, Krishnaraja Sagar and Seringapatam and Somanathpur and leave for Bangalore at 22 hours.

Eighth Day.—Bangalore. Visit Kolar Gold Field and back. Leave at night for Madras.

Ninth Day.—Arrive Madras in the morning.

II

Same as No. I for first seven days.

Eighth Day.—By road to Ootacamund and leave Ootacamund at 15.10 hours.

Ninth Day.—Arrive Cochin at 8.31 hours.

III

First Day.—Leave Bombay 13.55 hours by Madras Express.

Second Day.—Arrive Bangalore 18.10 hours by Guntakel Passenger and leave for Mysore at 22.15 hours.

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Third Day.—Arrive Mysore at 6 hours. Visit local places, Seringapatam and Krishnaraja Sagar.

Fourth Day.—Leave at 15 hours for Hassan and arrive there at 21 hours.

Fifth Day.—Hassan to Halebid and Belur and back.

Sixth Day.—Sravanabelagola and back and leave for Shimoga at night.

Seventh Day.—Arrive Shimoga at 6 hours. Visit Gersoppa Falls and back and leave at night for Bangalore.

Eighth Day.—Arrive Bangalore in the morning and leave for Bombay immediately by Guntakal Passenger.

Ninth Day.—Arrive Bombay at 11.35 hours.

N.B.—The duration of the itineraries can be reduced by reducing the halts at Hassan and Mysore to one day each, but this does not give sufficient time to see all the places of interest.

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THE FINANCIAL POLICY OF THE NETHERLANDS AND THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES GOVERNMENTS

By H. J. van Putten
(Joint Manager of the Java Bank at Amsterdam)

To write an article on the financial policy pursued by the Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies during the years immediately after 1929 is hardly possible without first giving some space to the financial and economic position which the Netherlands occupied in the year the world crisis set in.

About that time the Netherlands assumed the position which, in an economic sense, can be regarded as ideal for a creditor nation. Opposed to the credit items of the balance of payments, principally consisting of the receipts from foreign investments, shipping freight and transit trade, there were considerable debit items culminating in a large adverse balance of trade of quite fl. 700,000,000 in 1929, whereas the current items further left a sufficient balance for investments in foreign countries. It is estimated that the foreign issues in the Netherlands before 1929 amounted on an average to fl. 250,000,000 a year. These substantial investments abroad could only lead to untoward consequences for the Dutch balance of payments when after 1929 it appeared that a part of these investments had been placed in countries that either depreciated their currency or introduced currency restrictions or even had recourse to the proclamation of a moratorium. Only by liquidating these foreign—short as well as long term—investments was it possible to prevent a disturbance in the balance of payments and at the same time considerably to increase the gold reserve of the Netherlands Bank. It goes without saying that this liquidation was accompanied by heavy losses. During the years, however, in which the pressure on the balance of payments of the Netherlands on account of a reduction of the current credit items and stability of the current debit items was very critical, the above-mentioned repatriation of money invested in foreign countries brought welcome support.

The first years of the depression saw the adverse balance of trade maintained at the very high level of fl. 700,000,000, which later on gradually declined to the present figure of fl. 260,000,000 a year, a decrease therefore of nearly 70 per cent. It is true that the percentage to which imports are covered by exports has changed but little as compared with 1929, but the favourable effect on the balance of payments actually has been very great.

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In the later years of the depression the aforementioned increase of the gold reserve often rendered yeoman service at moments when in the Netherlands, and more particularly abroad, the possibility of maintenance of the gold standard in the Netherlands was considered doubtful. The gold reserve appeared to be the decisive factor in offering resistance in times of great anxiety, such as were experienced during 1934 and again in 1935 and 1936. We should like to mention that the loyal attitude adopted by the Dutch banks in not participating in forward exchange transactions, which did not bear a real character, worked very favourably, as it defeated the objective of the speculators.

The following table shows the development of the gold reserve of the Netherlands Bank since 1929.

GOLD RESERVE, NETHERLANDS BANK.
(In guilders.)

January 1, 1929	456,300,000
„ 1, 1930	471,800,000
„ 1, 1931	450,300,000
September 14, 1931	698,100,000
January 1, 1932	905,900,000
„ 1, 1933	1,055,800,000
„ 1, 1934	949,400,000
„ 1, 1935	842,000,000
September 28, 1936	669,800,000

It appears from this table that the largest influx took place in the year 1931, when England left the gold standard. It amounted to fl. 450,000,000. In 1932 the gold influx continued, but on a more moderate scale. After 1934 a reaction sets in, the gold reserve of the Dutch Central Bank then showing a decrease as a result of the repeated attacks on the guilder which came to a standstill only a few months ago.

The gold efflux which took place after 1933 and which reduced the gold reserve of the Netherlands Bank to a level which is almost identical with that of 1929—taking into consideration the fl. 200,000,000 balances abroad in the year 1929—must not be regarded as a result of deficits on the current items of the balance of payments, but exclusively as shiftings from the capital items to the balance of payments. This gold efflux is, in so far as it was not based on foreign speculation and domestic flight from the guilder, for the greater part a result of the renewed interest of the Dutch investing public in foreign, chiefly American and English, stocks and bonds. This gold efflux must therefore not be viewed as evidence that the balance of payments of the Netherlands was not balanced, because as regards its current items it has always been balanced and is so now.

With all this drain of gold the gold cover of the Netherlands Bank did not reach dangerous levels for the simple reason that the

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private banking system now reaped the benefit of the sane banking policy of former years. With the exception of the German and Austrian standstill credits, which in relation to the total investments of the banks only form a small percentage thereof, this policy can be regarded as sound. As a result, the banks could create in the years of depression liquid cash which in 1933 finally led to an increase of the deposit accounts at the Netherlands Bank to about fl. 300,000,000.

In the times of panic which repeatedly followed each other this great liquid reserve enabled the banks to finance calls for gold at the Netherlands Bank with their own resources without being compelled to have recourse to the credit of the Bank of Issue on a large scale. In so far as this latter form of financing was resorted to, the Netherlands Bank was able to prevent such a development immediately by raising its discount rate. The repeated increases in the discount rate during the years 1929-1936 could under these circumstances generally be quickly cancelled.

The increase of the gold reserve also had the favourable tendency to ease the money market, which in its turn made the financing of the ever-growing needs of the Treasury possible. These increasing needs were caused by:

1. The considerable decline of revenue in conjunction with almost stationary expenditure. Before 1931 the ordinary service of the Budget continually produced a surplus, but since that time has shown ever-increasing deficits, so that the total deficits during the years 1931-1936 rose to fl. 359,000,000, as appears from the following table:

ORDINARY SERVICE.
(In million guilders.)

1930. Surplus	27·9	1931. Deficit	45·6
		1932. „	76·0
		1933. „	55·9
		1934. „	37·2
		1935. „	71·6
		1936. „	73·0
		Total	359·3

It is true that these deficits have finally been consolidated to some extent, but in the years in which this was not possible they were financed by means of public issues of Treasury bills.

2. The financing by the mother country of the deficits of the Budgets of the Netherlands Indies during the years 1929-1936, which required in the course of these years some hundreds of millions; the maximum was reached in November, 1934, with an amount of fl. 270,000,000. The Netherlands Indies Government then succeeded in consolidating an amount of fl. 150,000,000 by

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means of a public issue which was guaranteed by the Government of the mother country.

It stands to reason that both factors exerted a pressure on the money market as the capital market did not lend itself to the rapid consolidation of large amounts. The easier tendency on the money market under the influences of the gold influx and at the same time the decreasing demand for credit on the part of business, however, reduced money rates to a very low level despite the considerable demands of the Treasury. The course of the rate of interest on Treasury bills since 1929 shows very clearly that the terms at which the Treasury could borrow gradually became more favourable. This process received a fresh impetus when Holland as the last surviving member of the gold-bloc was compelled to leave the gold standard on September 26; and certainly the easy tendency on the money-market would be still more pronounced if the operations of the Dutch Equalization Fund would take place on a larger scale than is the case for the present. As the Netherlands Government, however, does not aim at an undervaluation of the Dutch guilder, one may assume that those operations will never bear a forced character. At the last issue of Treasury bills the rate did not rise above 1·4 per cent.

It goes without saying that these low money-rates have greatly influenced the rates of long-term investments, in consequence of which nearly all 4 per cent. municipal loans have risen to par, whereas the Dutch Government has raised a loan of fl. 100,000,000 at 3 per cent, which became an overwhelming success. As this loan serves to redeem a part of the Treasury bills outstanding, the money-rates were not affected by this operation.

Lately the position of the Dutch Government has shown a steady improvement, which, among other things, is evidenced by the considerable balance of the Treasury with the Netherlands Bank of fl. 30,000,000, as well as its important loans to the call market. It is clear that if the Treasury were to place the first-mentioned amount on the market the influence of the plethora of money would become still more accentuated.

Apart from a special technical cause the considerably improved position of the Treasury must be explained by the stream of remittances from the Government of the Dutch East Indies to the home country during 1935 and 1936 in settlement of the aforementioned debit. In order to understand the cause of these increased "redemptions" it should first be explained how this debt arose.

The Budget of the Dutch East Indies comprises a so-called Dutch part and a so-called Indian part. The expenditure on the Dutch part always used to be financed in the Netherlands, with

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the understanding, however, that as the so-called Indian part always left a considerable surplus of revenue, the surplus of expenditure of the Dutch part in the course of the year was paid off out of the first surplus. After 1929, when the depression made itself strongly felt in the Dutch East Indies, there finally came a moment when it seemed that the revenue of the so-called Indian part would not even be sufficient to cover Indian expenditure, in which case the home country would have had to finance not only the aforementioned Dutch part but, besides, would have been obliged to make remittances to the Government of the Netherlands East Indies. Fortunately, this never occurred, and now we are in the position that the Dutch East Indies do not only "cover" the so-called Dutch expenditure but at the same time greatly decrease the advances made by the Dutch Government. Thus the advances amount at the present moment only to fl. 88,000,000 against fl. 130,000,000 in 1935, and according to present prospects this process should continue for some time to come.

These redemptions to the home country give some indication of the increased elasticity of the Netherlands East Indies. That these remittances are being achieved without influencing unduly the rate of exchange of the Netherlands Indies guilder affords sufficient evidence that the balance of payments of the Dutch East Indies is fully in equilibrium. Besides, the Dutch guilder since October, 1933, continually showed a discount of ½ per cent. in comparison with the Netherlands Indies guilder, which is the clearest indication of the strength of that currency. This thesis still holds good despite the fact that in 1935 and 1936 the Netherlands Indies Bank of issue—the Java Bank— was forced to release some ten million guilders of gold. This is the logical result of the Netherlands Indies private banks, in consequence of the smaller demand for money caused by the depression, reducing their sellings of foreign bills to the Java Bank to a minimum.

In answer to the question what is the direct cause of the improved cash position of the Netherlands East Indies Government, it may be stated that various factors have made their influence felt.

1. The real improvement of the Budget.

The drastic manner in which since 1929 the Government has curtailed its expenditure is apparent from the fact that from that moment this has been about halved.

(In million guilders.)

Ordinary expenditure,	1930	...	524	Ordinary revenue,	1930	...	439
,, ,,	1931	...	482	,, ,,	1931	...	380
,, ,,	1932	...	425	,, ,,	1932	...	283
,, ,,	1933	...	379	,, ,,	1933	...	257
,, ,,	1934	...	337	,, ,,	1934	...	255
,, ,,	1935	...	302	,, ,,	1935	...	250
,, ,,	1936	...	293	,, ,,	1936	...	247

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This retrenchment was a logical corollary of the heavy fall in resources which could not but have strong repercussions on a country like the Netherlands East Indies, whose Budget is for a considerable part dependant on indirect taxation. This adaptation of expenditure to the greatly reduced income has finally had the favourable result that the Budget for the year 1937 is almost balanced; the national debt will not be increased in any event.

2. The extraordinarily ample flow of the incidental income from the special export duty on rubber, which was introduced in 1934.

This is a duty levied on a sliding scale on rubber produced by the native population as a means to restrict its production. As the improvement of rubber prices, as well as the apparent inadequacy of this levy in its effect on the restriction of the native production, led to a further increase of this tax, the latter gradually became a source of very ample revenue. As these means are only partly included in the ordinary service of the Budget it is evident that in so far as they exceed this amount they cannot but strengthen the position of the Treasury.

3. Since 1934 the Government has, in consequence of the existing currency union between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies, availed itself of its right to use the silver token money in the traffic of payments between the two countries.

Article 2 of the Dutch and of the Netherlands East Indies Monetary Law provides that the "ryksdaalder" (2½ guilders), the guilder and half-guilder are legal tender to any amount, whereas Article 5 of the Monetary Law of the Netherlands East Indies further provides that the "ryksdaalder," the guilder and half-guilder are the same coins as those enacted by the Dutch Monetary Law.

The pressure to resort to these remittances arose from the large quantities of silver which, as a result of the continued deflation, had been piled up in the Government's vaults and which had an unfavourable influence on the position of the Treasury. The Netherlands Indies Government, realizing that the circulation would not be capable of absorbing this surplus of silver for many years to come, remitted large amounts of silver token money to the home country in order to reduce its debit balance. These amounts are shown in the following table:

In 1934	fl. 28,700,000
In 1935	fl. 10,900,000
In 1936	fl. 10,500,000
Total	fl. 50,100,000

For the moment this incidental source is scarcely operative. Nevertheless, the position of the Government's Treasury has im-

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proved to such an extent that it is still possible further to reduce the advance made by the Dutch Government.

In the above-mentioned process we have a direct point of contact between the financial and the monetary policy pursued by the Government, for these silver remittances could never have been carried out if the Government had responded to the wish which was repeatedly expressed some time ago to take the Dutch East Indies guilder off gold as an independent action without paying regard to the Dutch guilder. Such a measure would have immediately shattered the currency union, and the mutual token money could not have been applied at par as remittance for the aforementioned purpose.

Whether the Dutch East Indies will benefit to an extent as frequently assumed from the situation created by the gold embargo it is yet too early to predict. It should be borne in mind that conditions in a country like the Dutch East Indies are entirely different from those in Western countries, where depreciation of the currency may, under certain circumstances, restore the industries' profit-earning capacity which was lost, or nearly lost, chiefly owing to the large discrepancy between wholesale and retail indices. For the Dutch East Indies this factor was of less importance because—even before the crisis—the discrepancy between wholesale and retail indices was much smaller than that in the majority of Western countries. Moreover, during the years immediately following 1929 a further adaptation took place with remarkable rapidity in the Dutch East Indies, although it must be admitted that, in this respect, conditions were considerably more favourable than those in Europe, as the cost of living in the former is based more upon the wholesale index than is the case with Western countries. One of the favourable consequences of this is that in the Dutch East Indies wages, which show such a

INDEX FIGURES.

	Export Products. (Weighted.)		*Import Goods. (Unweighted.)*		*Retail Prices.*		*Cost of Food, European Families.*		*Cost of Food, Native Families.*	
		%		%		%		%		%
End of 1929	46	−54	88	−31	97	−22	101	−20	86	−48
" 1931	21	−14	61	−16	76	−16	81	−15	45	−22
" 1932	18	+ 3	51	−14	64	−11	69	−12	35	−17
" 1933	18·5	+ 8	44*	− 2	57	− 7	61	−11	29	+17
" 1934	20	unchanged	43	− 2	53	− 2	54	unchanged	34	− 3
March, 1935	19		42		53		53·5		35	
June, "	19·5		41·5		52·5		53		32	
Sept., "	19		42		52		52·5		31·5	
Dec., "	20		42		52		54		33	
March, 1936	20·5		41·5		51		53		32	

* The composition of the import index underwent a slight change in 1933.

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close relationship to the retail (cost of living) index, form a far more flexible element in the process of adjustment than in European countries. The table on page 163, taken from the Annual Report of the President of the Java Bank for the years 1935-36, shows clearly the development of the wholesale and retail indices from 1929 onwards.

But this same favourable factor, *i.e.* the close relationship of wholesale to retail index, which is the secret of the rapid adaptation of the cost of living, has the tendency to reduce the benefits of the depreciation of the guilder, because the rise in prices of imported goods affects the cost of living unfavourably to the full extent, which in its turn may lead to a raising of wages.

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EDUCATION IN IRAN

By S. F. Shadman

It is difficult to give a satisfactory definition of what is really meant by education, and it is still more difficult, if not quite impossible, to decide upon the subtle point as to whether a nation creates its own education or whether it is education which makes the nation.

I believe that education is nothing but the way in which the inner national tendencies and moral sources of a community are developed, and good or bad education is only the result of how these are put into use. Of course, the racial aptitude of every nation unconsciously shows the road to be followed, but there are different external factors which should necessarily be considered. Therefore it is idle to judge the educational capacity of a nation without studying its history and everything appertaining to it.

Truly fascinating is the review of events which change educational systems, and as it is a very delicate problem it is hard to discover all the causes and the effects of such changes. A mere reading of history books is not a sufficient guide to the educational capacity of a nation. I think that perhaps stories, tales and legends may be of greater value to the student who wants to have a correct idea of the real education of a country.

I will not pursue this matter further, as I am going to write a few words on Iranian education, but before so doing I should like to state that it is impossible to have the least idea about it without reverting to the long and eventful history of Iran, and it is worth studying because of its great interest. Few of the world's nations, if any, could withstand, as Iranians have done, so many foreign invasions and yet retain their own civilization. Greeks, Arabs, Mongols, all came, and today Iran still exists with her own language, her own culture and even her own religion.

It is all due to the Iranian genius and to the strong Iranian education, of which "Cyropædia" by Xenophon is only an appreciation, that a country such as mine was able to escape the overwhelming foreign influences, and if there still remain, as it is quite natural, signs of those invasions they are only what we have adopted and in some way Iranized, as one might say.

Iran today is on the highroad to progress, and those who have seen her lately will tell you how a nation stirred by national ideals can do wonders in a few years. But what I have to emphasize

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here is the fact that Iran was, at all times, the cradle of learning and free-thinking. If tales and stories which are written in their own natural way could be a true mirror of the social life of any country, then there are many which depict how Iranians were taught sports, good manners, different branches of science and art, love of justice and truth. Every story tells of travels, hardships, discussions and controversies between learned men of the land, and all this comes so naturally that there remains no doubt of their being part of the daily life of the people.

These stories narrate either the adventures of those who were sent by the Shah of Iran to find a rare manuscript in remote lands, or tell of titles and moneys given freely to scientists, poets and writers who came to the Iranian court.

Although Xenophon, in what he wrote about the education of Cyrus the Great, tried to show his compatriots how they should educate themselves in order to withstand their enemies, there must necessarily be some basis for his writings.

It is impossible that a nation such as the Iranians with so long a history should maintain the same level of education throughout their activities, but there are some characteristics which show to what extent the capacity of a nation can resist foreign influence. Taking into consideration all the vicissitudes of Iran, one may safely say that perhaps she is the only country where words about 1,000 years old are still understood by the bulk of the people today. Our children read and easily comprehend lines of poetry written ten centuries ago by our greatest national poet Ferdosi. What the seventeeenth and eighteenth centuries are to French literature, such is the tenth century to us. It is in this century that the standard Persian reached its zenith, and is not a standard language one of the best signs of a standard education?

Those who have travelled in Iran know that in almost every great town of this country there are many colleges, some extremely ancient. College life, in many respects similar to that of Oxford or Cambridge, was entirely devoted to learning. It is pleasing to imagine these colleges, jewels of architecture with their coloured tiles, full of students studying decorated manuscripts, such as Aristotle's philosophy or the medicine and logic of Avicenna, this great Iranian genius.

From different expressions used in poetry as well as in prose and from frequent quotations and simile, there will remain no doubt that Iranians, since their intercourses with their neighbours and even through their unquenchable desire for knowledge, had adapted the essentials of many different branches of Greek, Indian and Chinese philosophy, Assyrian, Chaldean and Egyptian science, and they were always ready to accept good ideas wherever they were to be found.

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It is a well-known fact that Iranians in some ways were the real organizers of Muhammadan institutions, and there are books written by them which are second to none, compiled in Arabic.

Reading is so essential that even in a mosque, where people come to pray, they find there numbers of books dealing with different branches of science and literature, and it is interesting to watch book-worms among these silent tomes which say so much. As a child it delighted me to see students and others turning the pages of books which seemed somewhat mysterious to me.

There is no need to speak much about the pre-Muhammadan education of Iran, as it is known to a certain extent to those who are acquainted with the earliest Iranian history.

It is almost inconceivable to European people that most of the intellectual progress of the first centuries of the Islamic Empire was due to Iranians. Although there are thousands of Arabic words in the Persian language which have given some facility for expression, terms and words which are to be found in Arabic and are of Iranian origin are by no means scarce, and that shows the influence of Iranian culture on Arabic institutions.

Under different dynasties some part of Iran was more prosperous from the educational point of view, but never was that country left without a centre where people could get light even in the darkest days of her history.

I think it is impossible to know a nation thoroughly without studying its entire literature just in order to have an idea of what people really thought and did and would do, because it is in literature alone that the standard of thought is to be found, and it is beyond all question that one cannot understand the literature of a certain nation unless one knows every detail concerning it. Now may I ask who, among ordinary readers in Europe, can be sure that, because he has read a few travel books or some fiction, he has a correct idea of Iranian education?

* * * * *

To try to give a full report of today's education with all its sources, plans and programmes is not my intention, but I can safely say that perhaps no country has seen such a vast educational movement as there prevails in Iran today.

It is interesting to know that since the sixteenth century there was intellectual intercourse between Iran and some European countries, and it was Mohammed Reza Bey, the first Ambassador of Iran to the Court of France under Louis XIV., who engaged French engineers to work in Iran.

In the early nineteenth century Iran had further dealings with Europe; new military forces were created on European lines, Iranians were sent to England, books were translated into Persian,

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and there began a modern scientific movement. Since the middle of the last century that movement gained more importance and adherents. Schools of medicine, engineering, music and other branches of art and literature were at the disposal of young Iranians who were burning to understand what modern European science and art have given to humanity.

Meanwhile many rich people sent their children to Europe, and a few to America, and European professors were engaged to teach in Iran.

Nearly a century ago, under the auspices of Mirza Taghi Khan Amire Kabir, the brilliant Prime Minister of Iran, a school called Darol-Fonoon was built in Teheran. This school was organized after the French system and it was divided into seven branches: Infantry, artillery, military engineering, cavalry, medicine, surgery, pharmacy and mines. Later English, French, Russian, art and music were added.

Professors and graduates began to translate and compile scientific books, contribute articles to reviews, and side by side with this scientific movement a kind of literary renaissance developed which freed the decadent post-Mongol Persian style from its prosiness.

Later a School of Political Science was inaugurated in Teheran, where most of our diplomats and other eminent Government officials are educated. This School is now incorporated with the Faculty of Law. Meanwhile feminine education was promoted, and in different places throughout Iran girls' schools were instituted and the feminist movement, already inflamed, became more and more enthusiastic.

During a quarter of a century every year has seen important advances in education from many points of view: primary and secondary schools have been multiplied, high schools created, students sent abroad, and this desire for knowledge has influenced Iranians so much that now practically for every branch of science, applied or theoretic, and art there are institutes and schools of different types from military to agricultural colleges.

I cannot describe here, for lack of space, what the new régime has done for Iran. Apart from guidance in every social form particular attention has been paid to education.

In ten years about 1,000 schools have been added, the number of students has doubled, the budget of the Ministry of Public Education has increased sixfold, and I think that this will tell its own story.

One of the greatest services ever rendered to Iran under the new régime was the sending by the Ministry of Public Education of 100 students each year to complete their studies abroad, and that was to be continued for a period of five years. These students,

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who had passed very complete competitive examinations, were chosen from among Iranian subjects irrespective of creed, and have proved themselves to be hard working and intelligent. English, French, German and American universities have received them, and it is to be hoped that my fellow-countrymen who have profited by the excellent scientific methods of Europe will in future be able to bring about mutual understanding based on intellectual intercourse, which is most essential.

Except those chosen by the Ministry of Public Education, nearly every other Ministry and Governmental Department have sent students to Europe to attend courses at universities and academies, and thus since the beginning of the new régime hundreds have been educated at military, aviation, naval, agricultural, commercial and engineering colleges, and experienced officials of different ministries have gone abroad so as to study the most recent methods and to report on how they should be applied.

It should be clear that, apart from the students whose expenses are provided by the Government, there are many others in various universities in different countries who supply their own needs, and, of course, they also will be of great value to their country.

I shall be neglectful if I do not mention one of the useful efforts to propagate knowledge in Iran. I state with confidence that books for both elementary and secondary schools, prepared by the Ministry of Public Education, are among the best which any civilized country can claim. Compiled by competent teachers, written in standard Persian, containing essential subjects requisite to everyone nowadays, printed and illustrated in the best way possible, these books are of great importance. I emphasize this fact because I think that it is of real interest to study books read in schools from every point of view in order to have an idea how the youth of a country is initiated into knowledge.

One of the outstanding features of present education in Iran is the great attention paid to physical education, which is now compulsory in all schools by an Act of Parliament. Girl Guides and Boy Scouts movements are in full swing everywhere throughout the land. A training school is especially instituted to prepare sports instructors. It should be borne in mind that Iran has always been the land of sport and chivalry. Polo, our national game, has been played for centuries. Each district in every town in Iran has its Zur-Khaneh (gymnasium) where people, listening to the charming voice of a singer who recites "Shah-Nameh," this greatest national heritage of ours, drill and prepare themselves to defend the soil where they are born and for the defence of which they would gladly die.

It is important to mention that for centuries different branches of art, literature and science (not only theology) were taught in

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old colleges, and it is also to be remembered that previous to an Act of Parliament two years ago which established the regulations of a modern university, colleges working on European lines were already in existence as stated above, but this new Act and the foundation of a new building near Teheran, the foundation-stone of which was laid by H.M. Reza Shah himself, opens up a new era in our national education.

The University of Teheran is composed of six faculties: (1) Faculty of Medicine. (2) Faculty of Law, Economics and Political Science. (3) Faculty of Philosophy and Theology. (4) Faculty of Science. (5) Faculty of Literature. (6) Faculty of Technology.

Iranian professors, most of whom have completed their studies abroad, and European professors also teach in these faculties.

I cannot here give in detail the subjects which are taught in the University of Teheran. But it may be stated that the programme of courses has been arranged after having taken into consideration both the important universities of the world and the needs of the country. One of the interesting reforms is the creation of a faculty where the students of religious questions are obliged to attend regular courses, and the programme is so arranged that they should have a thorough knowledge of everything which is essential to those whose duty is the guidance of man.

This faculty prepares clergy who, besides foreign languages, psychology and philosophy, have to study branches in connection with their future calling, and must pass difficult examinations in order to obtain their degrees. It is obvious that under such conditions a broad-minded class of clergymen, well read and well educated, can render great services to international religious understanding.

Municipalities contribute largely towards the public education by founding numerous orphanages and public libraries and in giving lectures.

Besides daily newspapers and literary magazines there are different special reviews, such as the *Agricultural Magazine*, the *Bank Bulletin*, the *Police Review*, the *Military Review*, the *Medical Review*, etc. One of the best periodicals, published by the Ministry of Public Education, is of great help to teachers and parents and gives the current happenings and events concerning education.

I cannot refrain from mentioning the great attention given during the last few years to feminine education. Although for centuries women in Iran did not miss their opportunity of education, and in our literary history the names of many women are to be found, the whole credit of a real feminist movement is entirely due to the personal interest of H.M. Reza Shah Pahlavi, who has

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given his patronage to this important problem which has greatly changed the aspects of social life.

Iranian girls are drilled and educated on the most modern lines; there are special courses for the training of instructors for Girl Guides, and at the end of last year the number of Girl Guides and officers in Teheran alone was 943.

Apart from feminine elementary education, which is spread throughout the country, there are many girl students who study at different colleges in Teheran and elsewhere, and many of them have completed their courses in Europe and America, and there are still quite a number who attend classes at universities here in England and in France, Belgium and Germany.

The entire abolition of the veil and the mingling of women in social life with men have already produced great results, and the emancipation of women, which is the outcome of recent laws, its encouragement by the Government and their independent legal status, which has long been acknowledged by Muhammadan laws (contrary to what is thought by most Europeans), have brought about this movement which has far-reaching consequences.

Iranian physical education in general is conducted by two institutions—Boy Scouts and Girl Guides and the Institute of Physical Education—each having a central committee in Teheran with branches in the provinces and towns. There is a summer camp every year in a vast area near Teheran, where they go for open-air drill and training, and instructors from all parts come to study camp-life generally.

As mentioned above, by an Act of Parliament games and drill are compulsory; matches and educational travel are encouraged, and different games such as football, volley-ball, basket-ball, tennis, cycling, running and jumping, etc., are the most popular. In Teheran a vast stadium is erected for matches and in other parts of Iran playing-fields have been laid out.

The budget of the Ministry of Public Education for the last financial year was 56,648,250 rials, to which 1,031,820 rials granted by municipalities and 324,000 rials granted by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company must be added, and thus the total budget of public education is 58,004,070 rials.

According to the recent concession to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, £10,000 each year are to be spent in England on the education of Iranian students who study subjects connected with oil, the supervision of which is entrusted to a committee in London under the presidency of the Iranian Delegate, who now is His Excellency A. A. Zarrinkafsh.

The officials of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company have spared no pains to assist Iranian students, and their guidance has been of great value and help.

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There are many Iranians who are now apprenticed in factories and works and others who study in the university.

The number of schools in Iran reaches 5,339, and there are 168 public libraries where books of every type are at the disposal of readers.

In debating societies scientific and literary questions are discussed. The Collège de France in Paris has kindly placed one of its halls at the disposal of the supervising committee of Iranian students in Paris, where speeches and addresses are delivered both by students and eminent Iranian and foreign scholars.

There are now 15 scientific and literary societies in Iran, each contributing to some special branch of science and literature.

Adult education is not neglected, and although the number of the illiterate has enormously diminished, according to a new regulation by the Council of Ministers special courses are to be held throughout the land, and everywhere these courses are instituted, apart from the general public, the minor employees of the Government and local authorities are obliged to attend them. There are to be 3,000 of these special courses.

Heads of educational departments and faculties are chosen from among persons who are acquainted both with Iranian and foreign educational systems, of whom a fine example is Dr. Sadigh, the present Director of the Training College for Teachers. He first studied in Teheran and then in France and England. After returning to his country he held various important posts connected with education, but not content with his vast experience he also visited America to study the educational systems of that part of the world.

This educational movement has changed the social outlook, and a certain thirst for knowledge and reality has produced books, written or translated in a style which is simpler than the florid one which was a sign of literary decadence. A society composed of distinguished people has arranged for the translation of a whole series of general history of the world and many other books of general interest. These books, which are translated by qualified writers, are printed and illustrated in the best way possible, and are sold at cost price.

Most of Anatole France's writings are translated by Dr. Ghani, who is now a Member of Parliament, and who has done for Persian literature what Aylmer Maude has performed in translating Tolstoy.

Let us hope that this intellectual movement in a land where the bodies of Avicenna, Ferdosi, Saadi, Hafiz and Khayyam are buried will produce men and women who may be able to give to the restless world something worthy of a country whose people sincerely believe that it is only by the efforts of humanity that the

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Darkness of Ignorance can be overcome by the Light of Knowledge.

Since the beginning of his career, His Excellency A. A. Hekmat, our present Minister of Public Education, has been an active official of that ministry. As a scholar, writer and lover of science and art, with the experience of many years behind him, he is the right man in the right place at the right time. His personal observances during his long period of service, and his minute comparison of our educational methods with European ones studied on the spot, have made his decisions concerning the affairs of this vital department of much value.

In her adoption of modern culture, which is the heritage of many centuries of human effort developed and strengthened by the West, it is my greatest desire that my country may contribute, as she has already done, to the further advancement of science and art.

WOMEN IN INDIA*

By Sir Hari Singh Gour

The subject of women in India is one of perennial interest both to the women of this country as well as to women generally all over the world, because the disabilities that the women of India suffer at present are the disabilities from which women in all countries have suffered at one time or another in their history.

When you consider the position of women generally and the disability to which they have been subjected since ages past, we are reminded of one of the fables of Æsop, in which we are told that a traveller, meeting a lion in his wanderings through the forest, entered into a dispute with him as to the superiority of each over the other. The lion claimed to be the King of the Forest and he pointed to his magnificent mane as the embodiment of his strength. Turning to him, the man pointed to a carving close by, in which a happy hunter was shown as putting his foot down upon the throat of a dead lion. "Look at that," said the man. "Doesn't that prove that man is superior to your kind?" "Yes," said the lion. "But that is a product of man, and if lions could carve they would carve the other way about."

Now, the position of women all over the world is due to the fact that they are subject to man-made laws. Man, being the stronger sex, has provided himself with all the amenities of life

* Summary of a Lecture delivered by Sir Hari Singh Gour at the Central Hall of the Y.W.C.A. in Tottenham Court Road on July 20.

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and relegated the weaker sex to the abject position of dependence upon him for its very existence. It is only since the passing of the Women's Property Act that women in this country have become entitled to possess property of their own. The Suffragette Movement is fresh in the minds of all, and it owes its existence to the political disabilities that the women of this country have been subjected to for several centuries.

The women of England are not yet fully emancipated in respect of the removal of several features which law and custom had imposed upon their movements. For example, they are not yet as free in the matrimonial field as their sisters across the Channel, where women are entitled to the right of divorce on the same terms as men. Some years back a Commission was appointed to bring the English law into line with that prevailing on the Continent and elsewhere. With the exception of the clerics who sat thereupon, the Committee was unanimous in recommending an immediate amendment of the law dispensing with the proof of adultery as the *sine qua non,* as required by the Ecclesiastical Law, administered by the Court to secure divorce: and this is only one illustration of the backwardness of the women of this country.

But I am not dealing with them here. Tonight I am only pointing out how the problem of women in this country and elsewhere has been at one time or another identical. So far as women in India are concerned, they fall into two definite groups, the Hindu and the Moslem. The Hindus regard all laws as a part of their religion. The great Hindu lawgiver, Manu, in his code written some 1500 years before Christ, declared that women should never have independence at any time in their life. In youth, he declared, the woman must live under the tutelage of her father, in middle age that of her husband, and in old age that of her son—woman should never be independent.

Coupled with this dependence of women there was the question of early marriage, intended to prevent her from chalking out a course of her own. The idea was that she should be given to her husband before she was able to think for herself and it is the root cause of the custom of child marriages in my country. Those of you who have looked at the Census Report only of the last decade, taken in 1931, will find that some 300 odd women are declared to be widows and their ages, as given in the Report, are from zero to 5. A larger number of widows' ages are given as 5 to 10, while those from 10 to 15 run into six figures. The prevailing custom is not necessarily confined to the Manu community.

When I introduced my Age of Consent Bill in the Indian Legislature, the opposition came not so much from the Hindu as the Moslem members, who denounced the Bill as opposed to their Sharrait, that is, their sacred law, but the Bill has been enacted

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into law, raising the age of consent to 14 and 16, inside and outside marriage. But I am not satisfied with that age. I have been pressing and am still pressing for the age of consent to be synchronous with the year of majority, which is 18 in my country as it is 21 here. I have pointed out that under the law of the land no person is free to make any contract with reference to his property until he has attained his majority—that is, the age of discretion. If that is so, I cannot understand how a child is allowed to enter into a most solemn contract with reference to her priceless possession and the crowning jewel of her life, even before she understands its meaning and the nature and consequence of her act. The fact is that she has no word in the matter at all. Her parents and guardians arrange the marriage and the poor child is faced with a *fait accompli* when it is too late for her to rescind the act of her parents. She has no choice in the matter, and if her husband be incontinent, a congenital idiot, or be suffering from congenital leprosy or sanious disease, imperilling her very existence, she has no choice.

I introduced a Bill for the dissolution of marriage in these circumstances. The Bill was referred to the Select Committee, but has not yet become law. Women in India could at one time be bodily seized by their husbands in execution of a decree for the restitution of conjugal rights. They can be seized in the same manner and to the same extent as you in England would take possession of a runaway horse or a truant sheep. I have repealed that law with the result that women are now free to that extent. I have also secured to women the right of entering the legal profession, a point which was conceded not without some struggle, in which, I am sorry to say, some European members of the Assembly joined hands with the reactionaries against me.

If I had time, I could give you in detail the history of numerous measures on the same lines, for which I was directly responsible: The Devadasi Act, proscribing the offering of young girls to the temples in India and thereby consigning them to lifelong prostitution, is one such Act. This Bill was enacted as part of the Indian Penal Code, but remains a dead letter, as has also the more recent Bill prohibiting the marriage of young children below a certain age.

The future of women in India lies in their own hands. I am glad that the new Parliamentary Statute, in dealing with the government of India, has given women a direct franchise, enabling them to send in their representatives both to the Central and the Provisional Legislatures. Women will take advantage of their position and they will be able to force through social reforms, bringing to their sex the relief which it sorely needs.

The Indian law of inheritance requires drastic overhauling. I

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have modified it in favour of certan female relations, but my Act does not go far enough. What we want is a thorough overhaul of the whole system of inheritance, particularly the section dealing with women's private property. I strongly advocate the appointment of a Commission with a non-official majority and a non-official Chairman, conversant with the new law, to go into this question and not to draw up a report which might be shelved, but to draw up a report which shall be translated into an Act of the Indian Legislature, which is only possible if the Government would commit themselves to bringing in a Bill embodying the recommendation of such a Committee, before the reformed Central Legislature comes into existence. When such Federal Government is established, I am anxious to see the appointment of a Committee for the reform of Indian Law generally, and the women of India should not rest content till such a Committee is appointed. They should bespeak the support of the women's organization in England, and I appeal to that organization to take up this question in right earnest before it is too late.

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THE FUTURE OF BURMA*

By Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Burma has just reached a very important stage in its history. At present it is just a province of British India, but on April 1, 1937, it is to be "separated" from India, and is to launch out on its own. It is the most easterly province of India, and extends from the high mountainous area in latitude 28° N., where the unadministered areas of Assam and Burma march with Tibet and China to the Bay of Bengal as far south as Victoria Point, latitude 9·58° N., on the narrow Malay Peninsula which divides the Gulf of Siam from the Bay of Bengal. On the west and north-west Burma marches with Bengal, the Nanipur State and Assam, and it is divided from India by a wide tract of densely wooded hill and jungle. This tract is not impassable. Indeed, a Burman raid into India led to the first Burman war in 1824. But it is so difficult that there is no communication by road or rail between India and Burma. If you want to go from India to Burma you must go by sea or air. On the east Burma's neighbours are the Chinese province of Yunnan in the north, and French Indo-China and Siam in the south. Here again the frontiers are difficult. There are no roads leading from Burma to the adjacent countries. Intercourse with India is possible only by a few difficult caravan routes, and such trade as goes on is carried on the backs of mules.

I called Burma just now a "fascinating little country." "Little" is only a relative term. Its total area is some 234,000 square miles. That is to say, it is about four times the size of England and Wales, and it is by far the largest of the Indian provinces. On the other hand, it is sparsely populated; naturally so, because it contains so large an area of hill and jungle. Its population is only about 14½ millions, of which about 10 millions are Burman. These Burmans live on the plains, and other plains peoples are Karens, of whom there are about 1¼ millions, and Indians about a million in number. The rest of the population are mainly hill people. About a million Shans inhabit the lovely Shan plateau on the east of Burma, and there are numerous tribes of Chins on the west, Nagas in the north-west and Kachins in the north and north-east.

* Based on a paper read before the Royal Empire Society Summer School at the University of Bristol.

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Thus Burma owes much to its difficult frontiers. It is they which have enabled this small Burman people, squeezed in as it were between the vast millions of India on the one side and of China on the other, to maintain throughout the ages its individuality as a nation. As I shall show later, they simplify the problem of defence, and in the last analysis they are responsible for the movement for the separation of Burma from India. This controversy is now at an end, and I do not propose to revive it. But I must explain as briefly as I may why it has been decided to separate the two countries.

We took over Burma in three stages. In 1826 we annexed the Arakan and Tenasserim divisions after the first Burmese war, which was waged in retaliation for the invasion of Manipur and Assam by Burmese forces. In 1852 the second Burmese war broke out as the result of outrages on British residents in Rangoon. We then annexed the rest of Lower Burma, and in 1862 the province of Lower Burma or British Burma was constituted. Finally, in 1885 we came into collision with Thibaw, the King of Upper Burma; Mandalay was occupied and the province of Burma as we now know it came into existence.

In all these wars India was our base; in fact the wars were waged by the Government of India. It was only natural, therefore, that Burma was administered as a province of India. Looking back on all that has passed, I think myself that it was unfortunate for Burma that this course was adopted, but at the time, no doubt, it seemed the obvious convenient thing to do. Nor so long as the British Government in India remained an autocratic Government did the arrangement cause much complaint. But there was always an undercurrent of discontent. An American gentleman, Mr. Alleyne Ireland, who visited Burma as far back as 1901, and who wrote a book called *Far Eastern Peoples,* referred in that book to the "desire almost universally expressed in Burma for separation from India." Nor was the feeling merely one of sentiment. Burma is a long way from Simla, and is not even part of India, and there was a feeling, even among British officials serving in the province, that it was rather neglected by the Government of India. Certainly it was starved for funds, and admittedly it is the most undeveloped province of India. But so long as the British Government in India remained an autocratic Government, the question of separation was regarded rather as an academic one.

A change came over the position, however, as soon as the constitutional reforms were instituted in 1921, and India began to advance towards self-government. Clearly, reasons of administrative convenience would no longer justify the inclusion of Burma except with its own express consent, within a self-governing India,

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and the case for separating the two countries emerged even more strongly when eventually it was decided to set up a Federal form of Government in India. The units making up the Federation have to surrender powers to the centre and occasionally have to subordinate to the good of the whole their own individual interests. Broadly speaking, it may be said that a Federal form of Government will be a success only where the component units of the Federation are bound together by ties of common national sentiment and ties of common interest. Owing to that difficult tract of hill and jungle which separates the two countries, ties of this kind do not bind India and Burma together. The Burmans are no part of the Indian nation, if such a thing can be said to exist. They come from a different racial stock, they speak a different language, they have a different religion, and their habits and customs and outlook on life are different. There is no caste in Burma, and the position of women is much higher. Ties of common national feeling are therefore lacking, and the same may be said, though perhaps not with the same emphasis, of ties of community of economic interest. India, it is true, is Burma's best market, and it is to Burma's interest to remain on good terms with India. But Burma's road and railway systems are entirely separate from those of India, and in tariff matters her interests diverge entirely from those of her great neighbour. India has embarked on a policy of discriminating protection, and however suitable that policy may be to India, it is definitely injurious to Burma. Burma is not a manufacturing country. She is a large exporter of raw products and raw materials—rice, oil, teak, lead, tin, wolfram, silver, rubber and the like—and she imports the manufactures she requires. Her interest lies, therefore, in selling her products for the best price she can obtain in the markets of the world, in order that she may be able to pay for her imports. Finally, it is regrettable but true that the Burman does not like the Indian. For those reasons I have always regarded the separation of Burma from India as inevitable, and I have always thought that that separation ought to take place in the interests of India as well as those of Burma. It would not make for the smooth and successful working of the Federation if there were included in it an alien race whose interests are different from those of the other component units. Those, in brief, are the reasons why it has been decided to separate the two countries.

This decision has, of course, given rise to many difficult problems, on the successful solution of which will depend the future prosperity of Burma. Before I attempt to deal with some of those problems, I should just like to say a few words about the actual process of separation. As can be imagined, it is no easy matter to separate two countries which have been joined together

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so long as India and Burma, and various preparations had to be made and precautions taken before the separation could take place. For instance, arrangements had to be made for the currency system of Burma after separation. A temporary solution of this problem has been found. It has been decided that for the present Burma will remain within the Indian currency system. The Reserve Bank of India will manage the currency and carry on the business of banking in Burma. It will issue distinctive notes, which will be legal tender in Burma but not in India, and the Government of Burma will have the right after giving due notice to issue distinctive Burmese coins. This agreement is to be terminable on two years' notice by either side, but it will subsist for a minimum period of three years after separation.

Then, again, arrangements had to be made to safeguard the trade relations between India and Burma for the first few years after the separation. This is another thorny problem. On the one hand, India, as I have just said, is Burma's best market, and the principal buyer of Burma's most characteristic products—rice, kerosene oil and petrol, teak and silver. Indeed, of Burma's total exports, averaging in normal times about 56 crores (£42 millions) per annum, about 48 per cent. (or £20 millions) go to India. Naturally, therefore, the business community in Burma were apprehensive of the application of Indian tariff duties to this trade. On the other hand, as I have already pointed out, the Indian tariff system is entirely unsuited to Burma. Many of the duties are heavy protective duties, which are definitely injurious to Burma since the industries they are designed to protect are situated in India and not in Burma. Moreover, the general level of customs duties in India is terribly high. Some people would have preferred, therefore, to start Burma off with a trade agreement with India providing for specially favourable tariff treatment for the commodities in which the two countries were specially interested, and leaving Burma free to impose such light Customs duties as she might require for revenue purposes on other imports. It has been decided, however, that, as a temporary measure, free trade shall continue between India and Burma, and that as regards imports from other countries the Indian tariff shall remain in force. This agreement will remain in force for three years, and, if not then terminated, will remain in force subject to termination on twelve months' notice. As a temporary measure, it is no doubt a reasonable arrangement, but one disadvantage has already emerged. India has decided to withdraw from the Ottawa Agreement. That decision binds Burma also, and until fresh agreements are made, Burma stands to lose the benefits of the valuable Empire preferences, especially that on rice.

The Trade Agreement covers another contentious subject—that

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of Indian immigration into Burma. In addition to the large resident Indian population in Burma, very large numbers of Indians come over to Burma every year for work. They are attracted by the relatively high rates of wages obtainable in Burma, and they come over for work in the rice mills and in the fields and for menial work of all kinds in Rangoon. This movement of labour is largely a seasonal movement, and there is always an ebb and flow of Indians from and to Rangoon and other Burmese ports. Indeed, now that immigration into the U.S.A. is restricted, Rangoon has supplanted New York as the largest passenger port in the world. As long as Burma was prosperous, the Burmans acquiesced in this arrangement, and they were quite content to leave hard manual work to the Indians. But when the bad times came, as they did in 1931, the Burman was driven to seek labour of this kind for himself,and he resented the dominance of the Indian in the labour market. This problem of Indian labour is one of the major problems before Burma. Indian labour is essential to Burma, but Indian immigration needs to be regulated and controlled. Time will be required to arrive at a proper solution of a difficult problem, which if it is not handled aright may lead to strained relations between India and Burma, and in order to give breathing space for the study of the question the Trade Agreement provides that no restriction shall be placed on Indian immigration for at least three years.

As a further precaution against hasty ill-considered legislation, the new Constitution provides that no Bill affecting immigration into Burma shall be introduced in the Legislature without the previous sanction of the Governor.

But the most difficult of immediate problems of separation was that of the financial settlement as between India and Burma. This was a very intricate matter, and also a very contentious one. The views of the Governments of India and Burma were naturally very different, and an authoritative and impartial tribunal, presided over by the Right Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P., was appointed generally to advise as to the lines on which, and the methods by which, a complete financial settlement might be achieved between the Governments of India and Burma in respect of assets and liabilities existing at the date of separation. Their report sets out the principles which should be followed in effecting the settlement. It has been published as a Command Paper by His Majesty's Government, and anyone who is interested in the subject will find that this paper will well repay study. I can give only the barest summary of the Tribunal's findings. The problem was first to decide how the liabilities and assets of the Government of India should be assessed, and then to decide what fraction of the excess of liabilities over assets should be passed on to Burma.

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Almost every item in the calculations was the subject of acute controversy, but it would be useless to attempt, in the space at my disposal, to go into these points of controversy, and I shall have to content myself with giving certain figures taken from the report to illustrate the methods adopted by the Tribunal. These figures are not final figures. The Tribunal was concerned mainly with questions of method and principle, and the actual figures are now being worked out by a committee on the lines laid down by the Tribunal. But the figures give an approximate idea how the settlement works out. The bulk of the liabilities consists of interest-bearing obligations, such as permanent debt, Treasury Bills, cash certificates, and the like, but they include also the pensionary obligations of the Government of India. On a $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. basis the Tribunal valued those liabilities at nearly 1401 crores, or about £1,050 millions. To some extent those liabilities are represented by assets. There are commercial assets directly earning interest, such as railways and the plant and buildings of the post and telegraph department, and there are interest-bearing advances, mostly to provinces. There are also what are called "dead assets," consisting mainly of lands and buildings appertaining to the Central Government, which, though they do not earn anything, are essential to the functioning of the Government. On the same $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. basis these assets are valued at 1,126 crores, or £845 millions. There is thus an excess of liabilities over assets of $274\frac{1}{2}$ crores (£206 millions), and the Tribunal recommended that $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of this sum should be assigned to Burma. In addition, Burma has to pay for the material assets belonging to the Central Government, of which she now assumes possession. These are provisionally valued at $35\frac{1}{2}$ crores, and, according to their calculations, the sum payable by Burma to India under the settlement will be just over 56 crores (£42 millions), and it is recommended that the principal and interest of this debt shall be repaid in forty-five equal annual instalments of 2·38 crores, or about £$1\frac{3}{4}$ millions.

These figures give some idea of the magnitude of the sums and the complexity of the issues involved. Neither side is very satisfied with the award. The Burmans think that their share of the total net liabilities has been assessed at too high a figure. The Indians think that Burma has been let off too lightly. In these circumstances one may legitimately infer that the award was fair. At any rate it was made by an impartial Tribunal, which, as their report shows, took all relevant considerations into account.

It seems to be generally agreed that as the result of separation Burma will be better off financially than is at present the case. At present sources of revenue are divided between the Central

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and Provincial Governments, and the common complaint of Provincial Governments, including that of Burma, has been that the growing heads of revenue, notably income tax and Customs, have been reserved to the Central Government. These sources of revenue, in so far as they originate in Burma, will now pass to the Government of Burma. On the other hand of course, besides having to repay her debt to India in forty-five years, Burma will have to assume the liability for certain expenditure, notably that on defence, which hitherto has fallen on the Central Government. As I have said before, the final figures have not been worked out, but the Secretary of State for India said recently in his speech at the Burma dinner that, according to the calculations of the Government of India, after making allowance for all the additional expenditure that would fall upon Burma, the Government of Burma would have a net additional revenue of some 2¾ crores a year. The Burma Government's estimate is lower, and the Marquis of Zetland seemed to think that the net addition to Burma's revenue might safely be put at about 240 lakhs, or £1,800,000 a year.

This may not seem a very large sum, but, if it really does materialize, it ought to bring some very much needed relief to the finances of the Government of Burma. This remark brings me to one of the major problems which will confront Burma after separation—namely, that of Finance. At present Burma has the Government of India to fall back upon, and during the last few years she has financed a series of deficits by borrowing from the Government of India. After separation, this recourse will no longer be open to her. If she wants to borrow she will have to rely on her own credit and to raise loans in the open market. For this reason it is a comforting thought that Burma ought to be able to budget for a comfortable surplus in the first year after separation. At the same time it must be remembered that Burma has a lot of leeway to make up. As I have just indicated, the last few years have been very lean years. Indeed, I suppose that the depression of trade throughout the world has affected Burma as much as, if not more than, any country in the world. As I pointed out, when last I lectured to the Royal Empire Society on Burma, it is the economic weakness of the country that she depends so largely on one crop—rice. She is the largest exporter of rice in the world. Every year she exports some 3 million tons, and the prosperity of the Burman depends, it is not too much to say, on the price he gets for his paddy, or unhusked rice. For ten years after the war prices were high. They averaged between Rs. 150 and Rs. 200 for 100 baskets and the Burman was prosperous. But just as I went to Burma as Governor at the end of 1927, prices began to fall.

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There came the world slump, and prices fell away till in 1933 and 1934 they dropped as low as Rs. 55. I think that I am correct in saying that this is the lowest price ever recorded since the province of British Burma was constituted in 1862. This price hardly covered the cost of cultivation, and the cultivators were reduced to great distress. Naturally, also, the finances of the Government of Burma were disorganized. During the whole of my period of office we were engaged in the depressing task of retrenchment and cutting down expenditure, and the same unpleasant task fell on my successor, Sir Hugh Stephenson. Fortunately, in the last year or so there has been some recovery. The price of paddy has moved up to the neighbourhood of Rs. 100, and the Burma Government has been able to budget for a small surplus in the current year. A few figures will illustrate the position. In 1927-28 the Budget provided for an expenditure of 12·39 crores, including capital expenditure of 2·58 crores. In 1936-37 the expenditure is put at 9·11 crores, and there is practically no capital expenditure. Thus the Budget in those nine years has been cut down by nearly 27 per cent., and this is a heavy reduction when you consider how relatively small the expenditure of the Government of Burma was even when the province was prosperous. 12½ crores, less than £9½ millions, does not seem very extravagant expenditure for a province which is four times the size of England and Wales and which has a population of 14½ millions. There was thus not a great field for retrenchment, and the Budget has been balanced at the expense of calling a halt in development work, of putting the roads on a maintenance basis and of giving what are called in India the "nation-building" departments, such as education and agriculture, just enough money to carry on. There is therefore much leeway to make up, and after separation careful and prudent management of the finances of Burma will be required in order that the country's credit may be established and that she may be able to borrow, on reasonable terms, when the time comes for her to resume the work of development. It is for this reason that the new Government of Burma Act places upon the Governor a "special responsibility" for safeguarding the financial stability and credit of the Government, and makes provision for the appointment of a financial adviser to assist him in the discharge of this responsibility.

I pass now to another of the major problems of the new Government—that of the defence of Burma. Hitherto this has been one of the functions reserved to the Government of India. I do not know what exactly has been decided in this matter, and I can only state what the problem is, and indicate some of the difficulties surrounding it. In itself the problem is

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not a very formidable one, thanks to those frontiers to which I have referred. On the north of Burma the country is so difficult as to preclude all idea of invasion. On the west there is India—from which, of course, Burma has nothing to fear—and on the south there is the sea. The only vulnerable land frontier is the east, where Burma marches with Yunnan, French Indo-China and Siam. Here, again, the country is difficult, the distances are great and there are no proper roads—only mule tracks. French Indo-China and Siam have long been excellent neighbours of Burma. On the China frontier there have been from time to time small raids into Burma by bandits, but no difficulty has been experienced in dealing with them, and there has been no organised invasion from China since the end of the eighteenth century. Expert military opinion seems to be that the difficulties of the terrain are so great that it would be impossible for a modern army to invade Burma except after much road building and long preparation. At any rate the fact remains that the Government of India have hitherto been content to leave watch and ward on the frontiers to the Burma Military Police—a force which is under the control of the Government of Burma, and which does not form part of the regular Indian Army. The frontier battalions of the Burma Military Police are stationed at convenient centres near the frontier and maintain outposts at all the passes leading into Burma. These outposts are linked up by wireless, and one of the first duties of the new Government of Burma, at any rate in my view, will be to connect them by lateral roads behind the frontier. This is an obvious precaution for which hitherto the Government of India have not been able to find funds. What money they can spare for the Army is, of course, mostly spent on the North-West Frontier of India.

It will be seen that the defence of Burma from external aggression is in itself a comparatively simple one. It is complicated, however, by the fact that the Burmans themselves are not a military people. There are fighting classes in Burma. The hill tribes, particularly the Chins and Kachins, make excellent soldiers. They are short, stocky little men, very like Gurkhas in appearance. The Karens have also done well as soldiers, and the existing three battalions of Burma Rifles are composed of these three classes. They are also recruited for the Burma Military Police. But the Burmans themselves have not so far shown much aptitude for military life. They are plucky enough, and under proper leadership would probably fight well. But they are impatient of discipline, and especially when quartered in their own country; impatient also of the routine of military life in peace time. Hitherto, therefore, they have not been recruited in any large numbers either for the

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Burma Rifles or for the Burma Military Police. The latter body is largely recruited from the fighting races of India, and, in addition to two British regiments, there are generally one or two battalions of the Indian Army stationed in Burma. The garrison of Burma is small, but hitherto the Indian Army has always been available in time of trouble.

Now it will be necessary to constitute some kind of Burma defence force, but as I have already said, I do not know what the final decision will be. I imagine that the nucleus of the force will be the three existing battalions of Burma Rifles and the frontier battalions of the Burma Military Police, and that, as at present, British regiments will also be stationed in Burma. The force will be a comparatively small one, and the problem of officering it will not be easy. The solution may be found, at any rate temporarily, in organizing the force on the lines of the Soudan Field Force, and in officering it by officers seconded from the British and Indian Army. This is the system now followed in the Burma Military Police, which is a highly efficient body. No doubt a real effort will be made to try out the Burman as a soldier, but the force will mainly be recruited, I imagine, from Kachins, Chins and Karens as at present, and I hope that it will be possible to continue for a time at any rate to recruit from the fighting castes of India for the frontier battalions of the Burma Military Police, whatever they may be called in future. Under the new Constitution, defence will be the responsibility of the Governor, who will also be Commander-in-Chief, and he in his turn will, of course, be responsible, through the Secretary of State for India and Burma, to the British Parliament.

I will now pass to what is the most important question of all—namely, how Burma is likely to fare under the new Constitution established by the Government of Burma Act passed last year. That Act is modelled on the Government of India Act, but there are, of course, important differences. The Government of Burma will be a unitary Government. The complicating factor of the Indian States does not occur in Burma, and there was no need for a delicate distribution of legislative and executive powers and of sources of revenue between a Federal Government and Provincial Governments enjoying a large measure of autonomy. In other ways, too, conditions are more favourable than in India. The Burmans are more of a nation than the Indians. There is no caste, and caste, as it has been said, "atomizes" the Hindus, and there is no communal strife arising from strong religious antagonisms. On the other hand, there are other circumstances which had to be taken into account. In particular, there is the Burman temperament, which, as I have already said, makes him impatient of discipline and prone to

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serious crime—especially crimes of violence—and there is also the fact that the political education of the Burmans has not advanced so far as that of the Indians. I do not mean to suggest that there is much difference in this respect between the cultivators, which constitute so large a proportion of the population both of India and of Burma—I am referring to the educated classes in both countries.

As I shall show presently, circumstances of this kind have been taken into consideration in framing the new Constitution, but I want to deal first with the question why, if the political education of Burma has not advanced so far as that of India, Burma has been given practically the same measure of advance towards responsible Government? The answer to that question is contained in what has gone before. It is useless now to inquire whether it was a good thing or a bad thing for Burma to be administered as a province of India. The fact remains that she was so administered, and when in the Preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919 Parliament announced that its declared policy was "the progressive achievement of responsible government in British India," the pledge so given was given to Burma as well as India. It is true that it was first proposed not to extend the Constitution of 1919 to Burma, but such an outcry was caused that eventually Burma was treated exactly like the other provinces, and when in 1931 the Indian Round Table Conference recommended that Burma should be separated from India, they were careful to add that separation should not be allowed in any way to derogate from the pledge set out in the Preamble to the Act of 1919. It has been decided that the Constitution of 1919, based on the principle of what is usually called diarchy, which was given to Burma as well as other provinces has outlived its usefulness, and that the wisest course now is to make as big an advance towards responsible Government as is practicable. Had Burma remained a Province of India she would have got the same measure of provincial autonomy as has been accorded to the other Provinces. Since she is to be separated from India, the same kind of advance is to be made towards responsible Government as in India, due allowance being made for the special circumstances of Burma.

Under the new Constitution certain matters are to be reserved to the Governor's own direction and control. The most important of these subjects are defence, external affairs, the affairs of certain scheduled areas, and monetary policy, currency and coinage. The scheduled areas, I should explain, are the hill tracts which surround Burma on the west, north and east. The most important of these are the Shan States. The Shans are a peaceable docile people, more or less on the same level as

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the Burmans themselves, but for historical reasons our policy in the Shan States is one of indirect rule. We govern the States through their own hereditary Chiefs, and those Chiefs could not be brought under the Burma Legislature except with their own consent. The other hill tracts are inhabited by tribes ranging through every grade of civilization from the Chins and Kachins, who are recruited in large numbers for the Army, down to the Nagas on the north-west, who go in for human sacrifice, and to the wild Was on the extreme east, who are head hunters. These tribes have never acknowledged Burman suzerainty; they are entirely unfitted as yet for any form of representative Government; and the frontier tracts which they inhabit are vital for the defence of Burma. The control of monetary policy, currency and coinage has been reserved to the Governor, since in Burma, unlike India, there is no Reserve or Central Bank. The Governor will be empowered to appoint not more than three counsellors to assist him in the administration of the Reserved Subjects, and the expenditure required for these subjects will be "charged upon the revenues of Burma." It will not be submitted to the vote of the Legislature, but a statement of such expenditure will be presented to the Legislature and will be open to discussion.

Subject to the safeguards mentioned below, the remaining field will be entrusted to a Council of Ministers responsible to the Legislature, which will consist of two Chambers, known respectively as the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate will be a body having revising and delaying powers, and will be composed partly of persons elected by the Lower House and partly by persons nominated by the Governor. The House of Representatives will be a popular assembly elected on a wide franchise. The Ministers, who will be members of the Legislature, will have a constitutional right of tendering advice to the Governor in the exercise of the powers conferred on him by the Government of Burma Act other than the powers relating to the reserved subject, and ordinarily the Governor will be guided by that advice. But by way of safeguard the Governor is declared to have a special responsibility in respect of certain matters. The most important of these matters are the prevention of any grave menace to the safety and tranquillity of Burma or any part of it, the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Government, the protection of minorities and the Services, and the prevention of action which would subject goods imported from the United Kingdom and India to discriminating or penal treatment. Whenever any special responsibility of the Governor is involved, the Act requires him to exercise his own individual judgment as to the action to be taken. There are

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other checks and safeguards provided in the Act which I have not time to mention, but the final one is that in the event of a breakdown of the Constitution the Act empowers the Governor to take over the Government.

I have given just a short sketch of the new Constitution. Most people, I think, who have taken part recently in the Government of India or of any Indian province believe that the best remedy for the troubles of India and of Burma is not to go back, which is impossible, nor yet in repression, but in greater responsibility. That is the theory which underlies the new Government of Burma Act, and I have no doubt myself that the theory is sound. But one must not push theory too far, and one cannot shut one's eyes to facts, and one must minimize the danger of failure. Responsible Government, as the Joint Committee put it, is neither an automatic device which can be manufactured to specification nor yet a machine which will run on a motive power of its own. Even in England, the original home of responsible Government, the Constitution is subject to innumerable "safeguards" not written, indeed, but none the less effective because they are based on established custom. Such custom has not yet grown up in Burma, and it is for that reason that it has been necessary to give statutory form to so many "safeguards." If the Burmans work the Constitution in the right spirit there will be no need for the Governor to make use of the safeguards, and, as in the Dominions, they will gradually atrophy and fall into disuse. In the meantime no reasonable and impartial person can deny that they are necessary. The technique of Parliamentary Government is not easy, and the Burman politician has much to learn. At present they are apt to regard themselves as perpetually in opposition to the Government and that their duty is to oppose the Government. In future some of them will take part in the Government. They will have to frame a policy and try to get that policy accepted both by the Legislature and the country. To that end, it may be hoped, proper disciplined parties will be organized, each prepared to back the policy of its leader. Hitherto again the Burman politician has been apt to take the maintenance of law and order for granted—as a function of a Government in which they have no real share. They have still to learn that it is the most vital function of a Government which they themselves are helping to carry on. It will not be an easy task, but, owing to the wisdom of Parliament, they have the Governor there at hand, always available for consultation, and they have the great advantage of the great public Services who have been trained in long service to India and Burma. They will no doubt make mistakes, as we all do, but the safeguards are there to minimize

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the effect of those mistakes, and I hope that as time goes on the mistakes will become fewer, and the machine will run with increasing smoothness. At any rate the opportunity is there. The new Government of Burma Act does give Burma a real chance, if she will only take it, of advancing to full responsible Government, and that, I think, is all that Parliament claims for it.

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A SHORT ACCOUNT OF COFFEE GROWING IN MYSORE AND COORG

By R. O. Oliver

After the capture of Seringapatam in 1799 some years elapsed before peace reigned in Mysore. The Poligars, who held forts in parts of Mysore, were not finally suppressed until the year 1834. Some of the last strongholds of the Poligars were in the present district of Kadur in the Mysore State. An officer who took part in the suppression of the forts in the highlands of Mysore wrote that the climate was suitable for Europeans and that coffee might be successfully planted on these hills.

Nine years later coffee was planted in Mysore. There is a legend that a Muhammadan pilgrim named Bababudan brought the coffee seed from Arabia in the seventeenth century, and planted this seed on the hills which bear his name to this day. Coffee was growing near his shrine on the Bababudan Hills long before any European had thought of cultivating coffee in India. It is assumed that the seed used by the pioneers in Mysore was collected from these trees. The seed was named Chick, after the town of Chickmaglur, which is at the foot of the Bababudan Hills.

Many Europeans were employed by the British Commission which administered Mysore between the dates 1831-1868. Some officers of the Commission obtained grants of land, and their sons were sent out to open the plantations. The first planters opened estates on what is considered today to be the cream of the coffee zone. Later the movement was to the west, where estates at first flourished with a very forcing climate. These estates had eventually to be abandoned on account of a higher rainfall than the coffee could stand. The life of the pioneer was an isolated one. He was dependent on local foodstuff. For weeks he did not see a European. Books were few. Coffee and sport were his only standby. The country in which he lived was beautiful and the Indians good neighbours. The few European planters in Mysore at the time of the Indian Mutiny were left unruffled by the storm in the north.

The coffee planted in Mysore thrived. It was grown in the shade of the original forest, which was thinned out to obtain the correct density. At a later date the "shading" of coffee became an art—the art of knowing the individual advantages of each tree, the size it would grow, if the tree could stand up to

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the heavy winds, whether the foliage was too dark or too light, and at what time it was out of leaf. It is a blessing that the coffee in Mysore is grown under shade. There are no ugly bare spaces which once were covered by the forest. The expert alone could observe from afar that the hand of man had altered the forest. The highlands of Mysore retain their original beauty.

In Coorg there is a very different picture. Coffee was first planted in 1854. The origin of the seed is doubtful. Coorg followed the Ceylon principle of planting in the open without shade. Coffee in Ceylon after producing for some years exceptional crops was completely exterminated.

The large crops which coffee would produce on new land without shade proved too great a temptation for the Coorg planters. For some years they prospered. Mr. Stewart produced such large crops that he was known in Mincing Lane as the Coffee King. The strain on the trees supporting large crops was too great: the trees were weakened and recovery was slow. In time Coorg had to follow Mysore and planted shade to protect the coffee.

The top-soil of suitable coffee land is a rich loam which should be preserved as carefully as one's banking account. It can be easily exhausted, either by taking all and returning nothing or by the quickest and surest way of allowing it to be washed into the sea. The original forest is covered by a thick layer of leaves over the soil, which, combined with the roots of the jungle, prevent erosion. When the soil is laid bare each heavy shower in running off the land carries with it the rich red loam.

All Indian coffee is today planted in the shade. It has been proved in India that too little shade is detrimental to the quality of coffee. Too drastic thinning of shade allows the plants to overcrop, and is the surest way to ruin.

To return to the early day of coffee. The Chick seed was universally planted in Mysore, proving a great success. The coffee from these trees was greatly appreciated in Mincing Lane. Coffee flourished; more and more men came to Mysore to seek their fortunes. It was a pleasant life. Roads and communications were rapidly improving; sport was first-rate, both with the rifle and the scatter gun.

Between the years 1865-1870 the coffee in Mysore became affected by a leaf disease. Many plantations were so greatly damaged by the disease that they were abandoned. It was only round the hills above Chickmaglur that the Chick trees still prospered. Planters in less favourable zones were in despair.

A Mysore planter, on paying a visit to Coorg in the year 1870, was very impressed by the vigour of their coffee, beautifully green and free from disease. The seed was brought back and

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grown in Mysore. The young plant from the Coorg seeds stood out healthy and vigorous against the Chick. The land which had been abandoned was replanted with the Coorg seed. In a few years such was the success of the new seed that planters had recovered their capital outlay.

At first the buyers in Mincing Lane complained that they were not prepared to pay the high price for Mysore coffee now that Mysore put on the market coffee grown from Coorg seed. The Coorg coffee had never come up to the standard of the fine Mysore. Luckily, this solved itself. The Coorg trees planted in Mysore took on the characteristics of the old Chick, producing a fine liquor, although it was recognized that the old Chick stood supreme in quality. From the year 1870 until recently the Mysore coffee that is put on the market in Mincing Lane is the coffee grown from the Coorg seed. A little of the old Chick remains and a few estates have coffee grown from Blue Mountain Jamaica seed.

Coffee in India has been grown from the year 1843, long enough for most of the diseases in coffee to have developed. There have been many, several very severe, but the coffee continues. In the year 1876-1877 Mysore suffered from the great famine. The disastrous effects of the famine will be realized by the revenue of the State falling by nearly half in two years. There were over 100,000 starving. The Mansion House started a fund, subscribed by English charity, to reinstate numbers of the Indian farmers left destitute by the famine. The planters did all in their power to relieve the suffering. The famine marks a date in the history of Mysore.

The planter is always on the lookout for a wonderful plant that will produce a fine liquoring coffee and is a high yielder. It was not until after the war that Mr. Kent introduced a plant which was afterwards to be known as "Kents." The first supplies of seed were disappointing. Some of the plants from this seed were exceptional, whilst others were indifferent. In time Mr. Kent irradicated the indifferent plants. The present seed produces a very fine plant, true to type, which is larger than the Coorg. It resembles the old Chick in growth and bean. This new variety has been universally planted. Again abandoned areas were planted up, but this time unsuccessfully, due probably to the soil having been badly washed from those parts where the rainfall was excessive. Nevertheless the Kent plant is an improvement on the Coorg. Year by year Indian coffee shipped to London contains a greater proportion of Kent coffee. The planter has been rescued twice by a new variety of seed. He can no longer afford to neglect the probability of the Kent in time becoming as liable to disease as its predecessors. The Kent plant showed up against the Coorg

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plant as a rare and refreshing sight, but the planters who remember seeing the Coorg plant in the eighties planted amongst the Chick were of the opinion that the Coorg in its prime surpassed the Kent. The old Chick was the delight of buyers in Mincing Lane, but the backbone of the success of planters in India has been the Coorg plant.

The Mysore Government at its Experimental Station has been at work in trying to breed an improved variety both in quality and disease resistance. India is recognized as producing some of the finest coffee. She will not leave a stone unturned in keeping up the high standard of their coffee.

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LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

THE FORTHCOMING Y.M.C.A. CONFERENCE IN MYSORE AND THE PROBLEM OF EAST AND WEST

By Stanley Rice

(Author of *The Challenge of Asia*)

"East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

The famous line was once hailed with delight because it seemed to crystallize into a phrase what everyone knew to be true: it is now as vehemently repudiated because it seems to set the stamp of finality upon the inevitable separation of races and to make the task of co-operation impossible. Neither attitude is entirely true or entirely false: not only must the manners and customs of the East always differ from those of the West, but there does seem to be an almost insuperable gulf fixed between the outlook of the two. It is easy to say that the West is material and the East spiritual, but facile phrases of this kind do not carry us much further. There is spirituality in the West, among men of good-will: there is materialism in the East, where every man is striving to make the best he can of this world, and, in so far as Western methods conduce to this task, to copy the West. On the other hand, in fundamentals there is little difference: the East, which has its old civilization which it cherishes, is, not less than the West, a lover of virtue and a hater of vice, and if the code differs, it is largely because of the difference of outlook already mentioned. The dogma of the superiority of the white races, which was once accorded almost as an axiom, is fast disappearing with the greater contact which the East is making. The young man who comes to the West is brought suddenly into the realization of the more sordid kind of Western life. He sees about him the orderliness, the organization, of Western life, with the scientific marvels which the West has achieved and which he is free to borrow and to adapt to his own needs. He sees, too, the comfort and amenities of middle-class life to which perhaps he has been accustomed in his contacts with the West in his own country. But he also has a glimpse of the squalor and the dirt of town slums and also of the luxury and artificiality of the so-called higher life. He reads in the newspapers accounts of immorality

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and murders and frauds, and he naturally concludes that in the higher things of life the West has little or nothing to teach him. And so he decides that the boasted superiority of the West is after all only an image with feet of clay.

Can, then, the East meet the West? It is to offer an answer to this question that this book* has been written. The Maharaja of Mysore has generously consented to arrange for a conference of men belonging to the Y.M.C.A. next year and to treat the delegates as his guests. That the Maharaja, who is himself an orthodox Hindu, should thus offer his hospitality is itself a sign of the times and, so far as it goes, an earnest of that desire for co-operation for which the authors of the book are mainly pleading. For their concern is not for the conversion of those who profess other creeds, but to find a solution of the differences which separate East and West on lines which shall be those of the Christian profession. And this they have tried to do from as many angles as possible. The co-operation contemplated is not merely the removal of what may be called in the language of today a superiority complex; it is rather the recognition of the essential oneness of the modern world—spiritually, socially, economically, politically.

It is, one must suppose, one of the effects of the impact of the West that politics in the East have to such a large extent taken the place of the older religious obsession. There was a time, doubtless long passed, when the preoccupation of kings, when they were not at war and leading armies in the field, was the discussion of philosophical questions with learned pandits, and though that time has gone there is still a small minority to whom such questions are all-important. Now, however, the main interest of the rulers is the administration of the country, and the main interest of thinking men is the discussion of politics. This is to be observed practically throughout the East. It is very striking in India, in China, and perhaps most of all in Japan, where, ever since she decided to adopt Western institutions, and particularly since the two wars against China and Russia, the old ideas have been discarded. The sense that wealth brings power, and that power alone can enable a nation to take its place in the world, is becoming stronger with the passing of the years. At the time of the Russian war the cry was loud and insistent that what one Eastern nation has done another can do; in the enthusiasm of the moment it was overlooked, or at least ignored, that the Japanese character, moulded by the climate, by environment, and by the national training, might have something to do with the success, and that other peoples, placed in other circumstances and not

* *East and West*, edited by Basil Mathews. (Student Christian Movement, 3s. 6d. net.)

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accustomed to the same training, might not easily be able simply to imitate. At that time it was the military success which seemed so dazzling, but as that vision faded another took its place—the vision of industrialism. "The economic development," says one of the authors, "of Eastern lands has been bewilderingly swift. It is no longer a pedestrian affair, but throbs like a huge engine. . . . The trade, industry, and commerce of the Orient has grown by leaps and bounds." Whether this is an advantage in the larger sense is naturally a question of opinion. There are those who look forward to the industrialization of India with enthusiastic hopes, and they see those hopes gradually being fulfilled in the growth of the mills of Ahmedabad and Bombay, in such settlements as Jamshedpur, and in the spread of industry on the Hooghly. But these enthusiasts, with their eyes solely upon the sense of wealth and power, are apt to forget that industry, in that form which converts the raw material into the finished product, necessarily brings with it the congregation into towns, the spread of the conditions of poverty, the creation of slums, and probably, too, the increase in the death rate. It is a common remark that modern conditions of industry which compel a man to do the same mechanical task every day, with no incentive to any real interest in his work, are soul-destroying. And just because it is so, because man requires some relaxation at the least possible expenditure of mental energy, there has sprung up an intense desire—even a craving—for amusement. But the congregation into towns, which is so marked a feature of Western civilization, has also led to an increase of vice and of vulgarity. That there is vice in the villages of the East no one need dispute; wherever there are men and women there is bound to be a minority which is vicious. But it is equally beyond dispute that the vice of the villages is as nothing compared with that in the towns. If men cannot afford the relaxation for which they crave in one way they will try to get it in another. And the vulgarity which strikes one at every turn in the West is noticeably absent in the East. Just as there is little of it in the villages of the West (if they are real villages), so in the East, which lives in villages, you practically never find, in spite of poverty and even squalor, any real vulgarity. It is difficult to define the word: it has been suggested that it means or connotes a lack of dignity, and that if you apply it to such matters as advertisements, the throwing away of litter (itself due largely to modern civilization which depends so much on tins and packets and newspapers), or the ostentation of needless jewellery, does seem to fit the case. It is, however, perhaps even more a question of intuition rather than of reason, and that, if objection be made that this or that does not come within the definition, must serve for the answer.

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All this seems far enough away from any question of Christian ideals which it is the avowed object of the book to connect with the world's various problems. "So far," says the author already quoted, "as Christian men are concerned, both in East and West, these values must be referred to the character of God. So will there come to men a truer sense of the value of men and things, and of work and activities, and instinctively their judgments and decisions and actions will tend to be ever more just." That is a brave saying, but it is doubtful how far men, absorbed in the bustle and hurry of business (even, if one may say so frankly, in the effort to get the better of one another), are likely to realize the truth of it. While the nations are busily employed in setting up barriers of trade against one another, and while individuals are striving each to get into his own hands as much of the world's business as he can handle, the idea of connecting God with the price of pepper or pig-iron seems fantastic, if not blasphemous. But what is really meant is that we must recognize that each is necessary to the other, that we must all bear the burden alike, and that therefore the Christian ideal of mutual service cannot but have its effect.

Mr. Taylor, whose special knowledge is China, asks why it was that while Japan had very little difficulty in changing her organization to that of a Western type, China has found it so difficult. "The explanation," he thinks, "does not lie in racial or temperamental differences, so much as in the political and economic differences between China and Japan. . . . The dominant type in Japan has been the soldier, not the official. In China, on the other hand, the dominant type has been the official and not the soldier." Consequently Japan was feudal, China bureaucratic, and it was easier to change the feudal State into the capitalist State. It is a plausible idea, but it seems to allow too little weight to temperament and to national character. The form of government and the social environment which have produced in the one case feudalism and in the other a bureaucracy are after all mechanical things compared with the subtleties of national character, and one is inclined to think that the will to change, the will to get things done, had more to do with the Japanese success than the writer will allow. The Chinese have been hampered by foreign interests, foreign intervention, and foreign treaties in a way that the Japanese never have been, and the further factor remains that Japan is more of a northern than an Eastern country and therefore inherits some at least of the grit and determination which we are accustomed to associate with northern peoples. Both are or were agricultural countries, and though both are rapidly developing their industries Japan is very far ahead of all Eastern countries in that respect. This result could hardly have

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been obtained without an effort of will on the part of her people, and merely by a change of system.

Perhaps the most marked revolution in the East has been in the position of women. The idea that Indian women were merely the downtrodden slaves and chattels of the men has long been exploded. There is, in fact, no higher ideal of womanhood than that which is contained in the Indian epics. Even so, however, chastity and fidelity were the main virtues attributed to women, and the idea that women could take any part in public affairs would have been condemned. Woman's place was in the home and there she was admittedly supreme. So it has continued to the present day, but now it is a commonplace for women to take a full share in affairs which hitherto were thought to be the prerogative of the male. There is no doubt that this change has come about through the impact of the West—if not entirely, then at least to a very large degree. "The impetus for change in the life of the East," writes Miss Ruth Woodsmall, the author of the essay on women, and an American supporter of the Y.W.C.A., "has come through the growing spirit of nationalism which has been awakened by the sense of need for self-protection and competition with the West." This seems to be a true diagnosis; it was Gandhi's campaign which brought women to the front, and for the sake of his ideals they courted arrest and imprisonment as cheerfully as did the men. The men, moreover, are realizing more and more that a woman, to be a true companion, must be educated; an advertisement is quoted which asks for a "beautiful educated girl for a B.A.London returned Hindu." It was—at any rate to Western thinking—an obvious disadvantage that a man should not be able to share his life in any appreciable degree with his wife, and that when he had asked, "What's for dinner?" there should be nothing more to be said. This new emancipation of the women is not due to any single cause, but Christian missions and the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A., as well as other organizations of the kind, must be given due credit. In Japan it is said that the school attendance of boys is only 0·06 per cent. in advance of the girls, and it is certain that female education has also made wonderful strides in China. The transformation of Turkey under the guidance of Mustapha Kemal Atatürk has hardly received its due recognition in the English Press; yet here also the position of women has been entirely changed. It is the women themselves who have hitherto been the chief obstacles to their own emancipation. That is, of course, quite intelligible. They have been asked to break with a tradition now centuries old, and being conservative like other women, they have found it difficult. For a woman to appear in public—much more to take an active share in public affairs—would seem to them even more unwomanly

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than the wearing of trousers by a Western girl. But the latter is now quite common, and doubtless familiarity with the new conditions will soon do away with any sense of shyness, if any remains. Women in the East have, of course, been fortunate in that if they desired to imitate the freedom of the West—since that has apparently been their aim—they have had the pattern ready cut to their hands. In China, India, and Turkey they have, for example, been admitted to the suffrage without any preliminary struggle such as most of us witnessed in England.

Christian missions have undoubtedly done much good work in broadening the outlook of the East. They are, perhaps, the outstanding example of that social service which is so conspicuous a part of modern Christianity. They have been foremost among the educational workers, and to them and their efforts may be attributed the spread of female education. Almost more notable has been their success in the domain of medicine. In India it is often the mission hospital that has the most qualified doctors, the best equipment, and the most up-to-date appliances. "In China, especially," it is claimed, "the modern medical profession is almost entirely the creation of Protestant missions." In this part of their work the people have generally been with them. In India one sometimes finds a distrust of the Government sub-assistant surgeon, who is often an excellent fellow according to his lights, but he has not been very highly trained. He tends to become unimaginative, to be content with what lies under his hand, instead of trying to create better conditions by prevention as well as by cure. Moreover, the vastness of the problem baffles the efforts of Government to spread Western medicine everywhere, and if it were not for the missions many villages would be deprived of all opportunity of scientific medical aid. Even as it is, many thousands of villages prefer the time-honoured customs of their forefathers and resort to incantations and nostrums rather than attend the hospital.

It is in the sphere of religious conversion that missions, in India at any rate, have been, if one may so put it, least successful. They can no doubt show a large and increasing number of converts, chiefly drawn from the lowest classes, and they can claim a big share in rousing these "depressed classes" to a sense of their position and to an effort to ameliorate their lot. But what they have gained in quantity is lost in quality. To be a Christian in India generally means that you have once been an outcaste, and that in the eyes of caste people is in itself something of a condemnation. It is frankly acknowledged that the "Christian Church has been —to such people—a door of opportunity. Hundreds of thousands have flocked into it, hoping to find in it an improved economic and social status and education for their children." That has

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been too often the motive. It was said to me not long ago that you can never really "convert" anybody; there will always be a background of a less spiritual interest which vitiates true conversion. It is, however, true that even the nominal converts have found in their new life a measure of self-respect and a higher level of living.

Dr. Nicol Macnicol, who is a well-known authority on the Hindu religion and has shown his sympathy with Indian thought by his translations of Hindu poetry, can nevertheless hardly be accepted as an unbiassed witness. He writes as a Christian missionary, and his writings are quite properly coloured by his intense conviction that in Christianity alone is to be found the true way of life. His exposition of Hinduism is therefore open to criticism, and it is very doubtful whether it would be accepted by thinking Hindus without considerable modifications. Particularly in his explanation of Maya "or unreality." This is really a contest of words. The doctrine of Maya has been much misunderstood, because there is no English word which exactly expresses it. He quotes, not as one would expect, Hindu writers of eminence on such a subject, but a "distinguished American humanist, Mr. Paul Elmer More," to the effect that "the whole thing, this globe and this life are utterly without design, a phantasmagoria in which we can detect no meaning and to which we have no right to apply any interpretation, not even that of chance, a huge illusion of ignorance which simply vanishes into nothing at the touch of knowledge." Against this we may set the following passage from Sir S. Radhakrishnan:

"There is hardly any suggestion in the Upanishads that the entire universe of change is a baseless fabric of fancy, a mere phenomenal show or a world of shadows. . . . The Upanishads do not teach that life is a nightmare and the world a barren nothing. Rather is it pulsing and throbbing with the rhythm of the world harmony. . . . There is a popular view which identifies the Upanishad doctrine with an abstract monism, which reduces the rich life of this world into an empty dream. . . .

"The difficulty of giving a satisfactory explanation is traced to the imperfection of the human mind, which employs inadequate categories of space, time, and cause which are self-contradictory. The aspects of the world known to them are fragmentary and are not genuinely real. They are appearances somehow in and of, but not for, reality. Everything we come across in our finite experience breaks down somewhere or other and becomes contradictory. While all finite experiences are limited and incomplete they are so in different degrees, and it is not right to put them all on a general level or give to them all equal reality or, more accurately, equal unreality. The doctrine of Maya gives abstract expression

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to this general feature of all experience of the finite that it falls short of the absolute."

There are, then, many important problems awaiting the conference of the Y.M.C.A., to which the Maharaja of Mysore has offered his hospitality. They are of varying degrees; some are perhaps insoluble, others are already in a fair way towards solution. We can only hope that the assembly may find practical means for furthering the cause which it has at heart and may work wholeheartedly not only for the good of India but for the good of the world, and may be enabled to find some means whereby the co-operation between East and West may be promoted and so prove the words of the poet so far untrue, that if East and West cannot actually meet, they may at least approach so near one another that the remaining gap may be looked upon as negligible.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA. By W. H. Moreland and Atul Chandra Chatterjee. (*Longmans.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR RICHARD BURN.)

Those who desired to gain a reasonable knowledge of the history of India without a minute study of original works have till recently been referred to the *Oxford History*, by Vincent Smith. The *Cambridge Shorter History*, only two years old, covered the same ground, with more detail, especially in the category of annals. This new volume is as comprehensive in the period covered (from Mohenjo-daro to 1936) as its predecessors, but is shorter and differs from them in its treatment of the subject. Its aim, as the authors themselves described it, is to concentrate on the evolution of Indian culture and its response to successive foreign contacts, which, of course, compels them to omit much of the detail to be found in the other books mentioned.

One could quote many works on India in which selection has been practised so as to make a vivid picture of some feature in Indian culture, but which leave the critical student with the impression that blanks have been filled by imagination, and selection has been exercised mainly for effect rather than by judgment. In the present case, however, the authors are always frank to point out where exact knowledge fails. They indicate the nature of speculations on doubtful matters where these are of importance for the history of India, but abstain from technical argument. And the general effect of their caution should be to stimulate further enquiry into the topics thus treated. Selection of political facts has been judicious and not casual. It is based on wide reading of primary sources, and is sufficient to bear the weight of the conclusions arrived at on motives, reactions, and results. The aim of Tacitus has been kept in view: "*Ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causæque noscantur.*"

One result of this method is that without any violence being done to evidence, India and the Indians appear in a more favourable aspect than mere repetition of annals would suggest. Inscriptions recording conquests and eulogies by Court poets make up most of the material for the history of early mediæval India, and the sketch of the ideal king (p. 110) as "a patient and laborious administrator, an expert and chivalrous soldier, sincere in his religion, but tolerant of other creeds, a sportsman, and a cultured gentleman according to the standards of the times," is exhaustive and fair. The descriptions of slavery under the Turk Sultans of Delhi (pp. 254-6, "a status, not a stigma"), and of domestic slavery in the nineteenth century (pp. 337-8), are other examples. A generous and well-deserved tribute is given (p. 117) to the Indian scholars who are laboriously working out the results of new discoveries of facts. At the same time the book avoids, in describing ancient institutions, the use of English terms which suggest exact parallels to modern practice, though the evidence is not really sufficient for such comparisons.

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The book should thus attract many classes of readers, English or Indian. It is admirable as an introduction for those who propose to make a more serious study of Indian history. Students of other historical fields, who wish to trace the main currents of life in India, will find this an easier and at the same time more reliable, critical, and comprehensive guide than any other book of the same volume. All whose life work has lain in India may find in it matter of absorbing interest, new aspects of old problems, vivid summaries of economic and social conditions at different periods, and explanations of things which have hitherto been condemned by default. Thus it is suggested (p. 50) that some of the difficulties in accepting Megasthenes' descriptions are due to his specialized use of an ordinary term, and to understand what he says about an Indian city or the ryot we must first ascertain what "city" or "cultivator" meant in his Western experience. Topics like the decline of Buddhism (p. 122 ff.), the contrast between the methods of warfare in North and South India in the fourteenth century (p. 175) are examined carefully.

In the later periods useful comments and comparisons occur even more frequently. Hastings has regularly been condemned for his first settlement of land revenue by putting it up to auction, but it is pointed out here (p. 300) that there had been a failure of the rains three years earlier, and that acute famine in those days might disorganize agriculture for a generation. To blame Hastings, as some writers have done, is to ignore the fact that his successors often used his method as a preliminary way of enquiry. There is, however, no disposition to minimize such errors, and a good deal of the book is devoted, not to that object, but to explain more clearly than has been usual how they occurred. Good examples of this are the notes on relations between officials and Indians after the Mutiny (pp. 362-5), on racial feeling from 1900 (p. 435), on the way in which Indian emigration followed the abolition of slavery (p. 381), and on administrative unity throughout India causing uniformity itself to be urged as a reason for changing local variations (p. 392). Both the authors had distinguished careers in India, and since they left the country have maintained touch, one by his concentrated studies of its economic history and the other by taking an important share in the control of Indian affairs in England. Traditions of service have not blinded them to defects of past administration, while at the same time their criticisms are fair and not tinged with the acridity that spoils some books by ex-officials.

Where selection of material has been rigid, though also judicious, criticism is disarmed, but a few suggestions may be made. The origin of the Kharoshthi alphabet in an Aramaic script is mentioned (p. 38), but that of Brahmi, the parent of all modern Indian scripts, is left uncertain. There can, however, be no doubt of its affinities with a Moabite script of the ninth century B.C., whatever may be the outcome of researches on the Mohenjo-daro pictographs. Careful use has been made of the most recent researches into doubtful points. The authors seem, however (p. 87), to have missed Jouveau-Dubreuil's reconstruction of Samudra Gupta's expedition to the south of India, in which he suggests that the conqueror returned by the east coast and did not cross the peninsula. While it is true that the use of

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charas and *ganja* is not traceable in ancient records (p. 128), it has been plausibly suggested that the *soma* draught so often mentioned was a decoction of *bhang*. The account of Timur suggests (p. 171) that he was a Mongol instead of being a Turk (of the Barlas tribe) like the Turks he overthrew in India. Aurangzib's sacrifice of a cow in a temple (p. 250) is paralleled by Jahangir's act in Kangra. To say that the prohibition of suttee was the first occasion on which the Company's Government deliberately interfered with an established custom of the country (p. 337) omits the humanitarian work of Jonathan Duncan, who got regulations made forty years earlier to prevent female infanticide and the practice of Brahmans to cut or poison themselves, or murder ancient female relatives when pressed for revenue. Duncan explained the sentiment underlying the murders: "It was a received belief that the female Brahmin (who thus was made or in some instances did herself become a willing sacrifice to the security, and what, by a perversion of terms, was called the honour of her family) does for ever haunt and harass the party to whose act her death was imputed." In dealing with constitutional changes it is said that Curzon ignored the fact that the legislatures were out of date (pp. 446-7). When he became Viceroy only six years had elapsed since the Act he piloted through Parliament had come into force, and Sir Walter Lawrence has shown that towards the end of his term of office his silence on the need for further advance was due to a wish to avoid embarrassing his successor. On the other hand, one would have liked some reference to the Calcutta University Commission, presided over by Sir Michael Sadler, which has had deep and beneficial effects on practically all the Universities of India (outside Calcutta) in the period since the war (p. 474).

A series of well-planned maps and an excellent index are provided, and a concise appendix on nomenclature and chronology adds to the value of the book.

THE INDIAN PRINCES IN COUNCIL. By Sardar K. M. Pannikar. (*Oxford University Press.*) 5s. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR WILLIAM BARTON.)

This little book, *The Indian Princes in Council*, gives an interesting sketch of the part played by the Princes of India in Indian politics since the war. The author, Sardar K. M. Pannikar, belongs to the Nayar or Kshattriya caste of Travancore, and is well known as a writer on Indian questions. His qualifications to deal with his present subject are particularly strong. He was for several years secretary of the Chamber of Princes: he went with the Indian States Delegation to England in a similar capacity and later attended the Round-Table Conference. Since then he has been Foreign Minister to the Maharaja of Patiala.

For nearly a century the British Government had adopted an isolationist policy towards the Indian States. The first deviation occurred in the Viceroyalties of Lord Hardinge and Lord Chelmsford, but it was not till the institution of the Chamber of Princes in 1921 that Indian rulers had an

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opportunity of taking counsel together. The value of the Chamber as a means of influencing the Government of India was indeed weakened by the abstention of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and other great Princes of Baroda, Mysore, Travancore. Despite this drawback, however, it established for itself a position of importance under the able leadership of the Maharaja of Bikanir as Chancellor, and later of the Maharaja of Patiala, who guided its destinies for nearly nine years with a short interlude of two years (1932-34) from 1926. The rising tide of democracy in British India after the war was an obvious danger to princely India. Where would the concessions of the British Government to the political intelligentsia end? Leading British Indian lawyers and politicians were definite in their opinion that paramountcy vested in the Government of India and not in the Crown: it followed that a self-governing British India would claim to control the Princes. That would mean extinction. It was essential that the constitutional position should be cleared. The Princes had no intention of placing their destinies in the hands of political India. The encroachment of political practice on the internal affairs of the States despite treaty engagements was another question which had assumed greater importance after the pronouncement with regard to the prerogative of the Crown in the Berars letter to the Nizam in 1926. In the old days of isolation such questions could not be raised. The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes, under the ægis of the Maharaja of Patiala, played a leading part in forcing this matter on the attention of the Government. The result was the appointment of the Butler Committee to enquire into the constitutional position. The Princes at great expense ran a parallel enquiry into political practice and the infringement of treaties. The result was a finding that paramountcy vested in the Crown and not in the Indian Government. And "paramountcy must be paramount," declared the Butler Committee epigrammatically. No attempt was made to define the limits of interference. This was disappointing, but even the Princes were prepared to admit that as a corollary of the obligation of the Crown to provide for the military defence of India, it was entitled to intervene in the internal affairs of a State where gross misrule threatened to provoke insurrection.

That was so much gained. But the matter could not be allowed to rest there. Political agitation was rampant in British India, and there was a danger that if a responsible central government were established the British Government might no longer be able to fulfil its military obligations. The Princes must descend into the arena and fight their own cause. For this reason they welcomed an invitation to the Round-Table Conference. The main issue was responsibility at the centre. To the intense relief of the British Government His Highness of Patiala, as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, made the momentous declaration that the Princes were prepared to join an Indian federation.

The early enthusiasm soon died down in the long-drawn negotiations that followed. The uncompromising attitude of many of the leading politicians, even the so-called moderates, created doubts in the minds of the Princes as to whether they could safely ally themselves with political India.

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They were determined to maintain the British connection: the one idea of Congress was to destroy it. Here it may be noted that one of the motives inspiring Mr. Pannikar's book is to vindicate the Maharaja of Patiala from the charge of inconsistency. Indian politicians evidently thought that in a federation they would be able to play one Prince off against the other and so neutralize their influence. To counteract such machinations the Maharaja and other leading Princes put forward a scheme for a confederation of States, especially of the smaller States, which would have no direct representative in the federal chamber. The scheme was supported by His Highness the late Jam of Jamnagar. So far it has not taken definite shape. There is this to be said in his behalf, that the scheme of federation as it was slowly evolved went much further than the Princes anticipated. His Highness later played an important part in the criticism of the India Bill, so much so that in some quarters he was accused of a wanton attempt to sabotage it. His efforts undoubtedly contributed largely to the improvement of the Bill from the Princes' point of view. Indian politicians, especially those of the extreme Left, have only themselves to thank for the Maharaja's violent philippic in the Princes' Chamber in February of last year against the politicians' ideas of democracy. The feeling that unless they can form and keep a common front, responsible government at the centre may sound their death knell, is still uppermost in the minds of the Princes. A scheme for a parliamentary committee of States' ministers to frame and carry out a common policy is most in favour; not an easy matter in view of the jealousies and personal rivalries that prevail. It may be confidently expected that statesmen like His Highness of Patiala and the galaxy of experienced rulers and ministers who work with him will succeed in evolving an organization that will at least give the minimum of safety. His Highness has deserved well of his Order and of India in the strenuous work he has put in during the last ten years in the hope of realizing the dream of so many Indians of self-government within the Empire.

THE MAKING OF FEDERAL INDIA. By N. Gangulee, C.I.E. (*Nisbet.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR WILLIAM BARTON.)

Most people in Britain realize—some of them perhaps a little vaguely—the importance of India to the Empire. Many of them are nervous regarding the astonishing experiment in democracy British statesmen are initiating in the Indian sub-continent. Despite this the complexity of the problem has induced an almost oriental fatalism about India in this country. "We must trust in responsible statesmen and hope for the best" is the general attitude.

The stage is now set for the second act in the great drama of Indian nationalism—the introduction of provincial autonomy next spring. Public interest will once more be concentrated on Indian affairs, and many people would doubtless be inclined to study the Indian situation afresh if literature of a simple type were available in a convenient form. A book which fulfils

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these requirements, written by Professor Gangulee, has recently been published and deserves to be widely read.

Professor Gangulee writes with authority. Until recently Professor of Economics at the Calcutta University, he was a member of the Agricultural Commission of which Lord Linlithgow was Chairman; he utilized the opportunity of examining conditions in the countryside. In a recent work *India, What Now?* and *The Indian Peasant* he gives prominence to the fact that agrarian discontent lies at the core of the Indian political problem. A Hindu nationalist, he does not allow his politics to disturb the balance of his judgment, and though an idealist he does not lose sight of reality.

The book gives an interesting sketch of political developments in India since the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, culminating in the India Act of 1935. All the important elements in the complex problem are discussed at length, the attitude of the Princes, communalism, Congress, finance, safeguards, the electoral system, the tactics of Gandhi, the disappointment of the intelligentsia and so forth. In point of fact a study of this book will give even those who know nothing of India at first hand a fairly clear idea of the conditions in which provincial autonomy will be brought into operation.

Professor Gangulee's comments, criticisms and theories are worth studying, though many will disagree with his views. He seems for one thing to assume an Indian nation which can hardly be justified. He thinks that it was the spirit of British institutions infused through the mighty mass of the Indian people that has brought on the national demand for reform. The touch of idealism is perhaps too strong here. One meets the stereotyped criticism of a white bureaucracy endeavouring to establish itself as an irresponsible oligarchy. For those who remember Lord Morley and his methods this is, of course, absurd. The control of the British Parliament has always counted in Indian administration, to say nothing of the restraining influence of the highest judiciary in which Indian judges play so strong a part.

For all his belief in democracy in the abstract the author does not seem to be very optimistic about the success of the new dispensation. The social structure is, he thinks, the main obstacle. Communalism is another. Morley, he says, when he yielded to pressure in 1909 and gave the Muslims separate representation knew that it was fatal to democracy. The Lucknow Pact between Muslims and Hindus in 1917 aggravated the evil. He quotes, but not with approval, Gandhi's dictum, "The solution (of the communal problem) can be the crown of the Swaraj Constitution, not its foundation, if only because our differences have hardened—if they have not arisen—by reason of foreign domination. I have not a shadow of doubt that the iceberg of communal differences will melt under the warmth of the sun of freedom." Such casuistry would hardly appeal to the Muslims!

It is interesting to note that the author is inclined to favour indirect elections in the villages as in Egypt. Direct election, it seems to him, under the present social and economic conditions carries with it the grave risk of the exploitation of the illiterate and helpless masses by a dominant and

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enfranchised oligarchy. The peasant, in fact, seems to be exchanging a white oligarchy for a brown!

Political India would hardly agree with Professor Gangulee's views on economics. Political bodies are, he thinks, incapable of handling economic questions. A national economic council would be a more suitable means. The outstanding problem in India is the raising of the standard of living of the peasantry. That will be the test of the new rulers of India. Professor Gangulee has little hope that they will succeed, largely because they are concerned to maintain the *status quo*.

He does not confine his criticisms to the British: his own countrymen are equally a target for his satire. He quotes with approval the opinion expressed by a Japanese statesman, Count Okuma, a quarter of a century ago, that Indians themselves are responsible for their own troubles by reason of their social organization—*i.e.*, the institution of caste. British law and order has, says Professor Gangulee, enabled the propertied and privileged classes to exploit the masses from a position of security. They themselves are largely responsible for the safeguards. Now that political power is placed in their hands it will lie on them to refute the charge that in claiming democracy their idea has simply been to buttress their privileges. Here we seem to be approaching the line which segregates the diehard from those who believe democracy is a cure for all ills. Will these privileged classes build up an Indian nation?

Through all the welter and confusion of Indian politics Professor Gangulee sees one rallying-point, a partnership between Britain and India. Let Britain be the senior partner; if only she is inspired with goodwill and friendship and a readiness to help India to realize her goal of political self-realization, then there would be a firm hope that India's dream might come true. In that way only can Britain fulfil her historic rôle of mediator between East and West, of leadership in the two continents. Let her gift of political freedom to India be open-handed; let her convince India of her honesty of purpose and most of the difficulties which confront Britons and Indians would disappear. Here one may comment that the idea of a partnership has been kept in view by the British Government throughout the long-drawn conferences and the reforms. Some people would say that the senior partner has been placed in too weak a position to exert any real influence. Let us hope that goodwill and friendship on both sides will make the new Constitution workable.

THE HYDERABAD BUDGET. Budget Note for the Year 1346 Fasli (October 6, 1936, to October 5, 1937 A.D.). Prepared by H.E.H. the Nizam's Government by A. Hydari Hydar Nawaz Jung, Finance Member. (Hyderabad: *Government Central Press.*)

(*Reviewed by* M. C. B. SAYER.)

There is no more obvious truism to say of any man who has given his utmost to a great public office than that the effects of his work can only be judged hereafter by history. Certainly nothing could be more futile than to attempt to assess the value of Sir Akbar Hydari's great services to Hydera-

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bad either by comparison with the work of other Finance Members or by the rehearsal of isolated examples designed to prove that the premier Indian State is more peaceful and prosperous than twenty-five, fifty, or even two hundred years ago.

Not the least of the many advantages with which Sir Akbar Hydari entered upon his present duties was the thoroughness with which the ground had been prepared by his predecessor, Sir Reginald Glancy. The fact remains that the development of Hyderabad to the full status of a modern State has occurred, in the main, within the short span of the last twenty-five years, and it is no mere coincidence that the most outstanding achievements should have taken place during the reign of His Exalted Highness the present Nizam, Nawab Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur.

Conservatism, as the history of modern Hyderabad has shown, means neither obstruction nor reaction, but progress based on a just appreciation of realities. It is in this spirit that Hyderabad has participated in the protracted constitutional negotiations that, "however formidable the doubts and difficulties they may have engendered, were prompted and inspired by the dual aim of preserving and ever strengthening the unity of India, and of enabling the Princes and peoples of this great section of the British Commonwealth to reconcile loyalty with patriotism."

It is for that reason that Hyderabad, the first among Indian States, elected for Federation, not for any end of its own, but to assist a general settlement. It is in that spirit that Hyderabad will decide, we are confident, before a few months are over, finally to enter the Federation of India as a constituent State, instead of remaining in its present position of isolation from British India, in direct relation with the Crown. The Government of H.E.H. the Nizam's dominions is well aware that the decision will involve sacrifices; it considers that the price is well worth paying if it conduces to the greater profit and happiness of India as a whole. In many directions, it is evident, the establishment of a federal form of government will enforce a progressive co-ordination and pooling of resources, economic and financial. But it may safely be asserted that Hyderabad's entry into the larger life of an All-India Federation will not be obtained at the expense of that stability—not of inaction or reaction, but the adaptation of policy to changing conditions, so as to ensure continuous progress in economic as well as social and political conditions—which has been such a distinctive feature of His Exalted Highness' reign.

In the course of the recent discussions in regard to the Instruments of Accession, Hyderabad has insisted upon provisions that will enable the State, in the event of its joining the Federation, to maintain intact, in matters affecting its finance, such insignia of the Nizam's sovereignty as its own Post Offices, Stamps, and Currency; such sources of revenue as its internal Customs receipts; and such fields of administration, even in subjects in which it may agree to federate, as the management and control of its own railways. How substantial, nevertheless, are the resources of H.E.H. the Nizam's dominions, and how indispensable is the co-operation of that pivotal State, if the new Federation is to reach its full economic and political stature, is manifest anew from the Budget Note for the Muslim year 1346

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Fasli (October 6, 1936, to October 5, 1937) prepared by Sir Akbar Hydari, which has just received the assent of H.E.H. the Nizam.

The dominions of His Exalted Highness comprise 82,698 square miles, with a population, according to the Census of 1931, of 14,436,148 inhabitants. The State's credit is valued by investors at only a little below that of the British Government itself. An active and enterprising development policy, coupled with sound finance, has enabled the premier Indian State, without recourse to new taxation—income-tax is still unknown—to maintain a balanced Budget throughout the depression, although some of Hyderabad's principal sources of income, notably land revenue, have been materially affected by the fall in prices. In fact, in order to help the agriculturists, who have been particularly hard hit, there have been substantial remissions of land revenue and reductions in Customs duties, apart from extraordinary remissions in cases of famine and similar calamities. In the words of the Firman sanctioning the 1936-37 proposals, Sir Akbar Hydari, whose "farsightedness and financial statesmanship" are accorded well-deserved recognition, "has managed to provide substantial money for the advancement of every department and yet keep the Budget balanced."

This wellnigh unique distinction, of which the Nizam and Sir Akbar Hydari are legitimately proud, is in large measure due to the success of the system of departmentalization of the finances introduced by the present Finance Member some thirteen years ago.

At the beginning of each triannual contract the ordinary Budget grant for each department is fixed for each of the three years on the basis of the receipts likely to accrue under normal conditions during that period. Unexpended balances at the end of each term are shared in equal proportions with the Exchequer. The latter's share, which in 1346 Fasli is expected to exceed Rs. 70 lakhs, is utilized to finance large-scale public works and other non-recurring expenditure. That the departments have not been stinted, and have in fact had more than they require to spend, is evident from the size of the divisible surplus.

Since the system was introduced in 1922, the State revenues have increased from Rs. 7 crores to nearly Rs. 8¾ crores. Two-thirds of the increment is derived from railway and currency profits, and ordinary revenue has undergone considerable expansion, on balance.

Expenditure has risen from Rs. 6.86 to Rs. 8.47 crores over the same period. Incidentally the State's own paper currency, the circulation of which is steadily increasing, originated during the war, owing to the necessity of economizing in silver, on account of the large amount lent to the Government of India. The Osmania Sicca Stabilization Reserve, formed from the profits of coinage, is now over Rs. 3½ crores.

Considerably more than one-half the additional capital expenditure has been on the improvement of communications, water supplies and sanitation, large-scale irrigation works, and other development projects which are directly or indirectly reproductive.

About one-third of the accumulated balances was used to finance the acquisition of H.E.H. the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway, which has proved an excellent investment. Formerly the State received from the com-

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pany on an average about Rs. 40 lakhs a year. On a capital outlay of Rs. 17½ crores a profit of Rs. 109.52 was made in 1934-35—when railways all over the world were showing heavy losses—and of Rs. 106.43 in 1935-36, after deduction of the full amount for depreciation.

Hyderabad has also taken the lead in the co-ordination of road and rail transport by bringing the two under the same management. A network of more than 4,000 miles of roads has been constructed by the State, and three years ago an up-to-date bus service was inaugurated by the railway with monopolies over certain routes. Eventually it is proposed to replace all private services by the State railway motor transport services, which are run on commercial lines, and by the end of next year will have a fleet of more than 235 buses, with a total route mileage of over 3,800 miles.

The work which has been accomplished in the successful co-ordination of all forms of transport, to the benefit of the travelling public and the State Exchequer alike, was the subject of appreciative reference in *The Financial Times* recently. After observing that Sir Ralph Wedgwood and the members of the Indian State Railway Committee, which is seeking to bring about closer co-operation between rail and road interests in British India, would be wise not to trust too much to the experience gained under very different conditions in this country, the article proceeded: "Valuable assistance, on the other hand, should be derived from the example of Hyderabad, which has been a pioneer in this as in so many other forms of well-planned economic development. . . . A further stage in the co-ordination of all forms of public transport in the dominions will be accomplished shortly when the State begins to operate its own air service in conjunction with its road and rail services."

Broadcasting and telephone development are other objects of special concern to the Nizam's Government, which continues to undertake many commercial activities in directions where private enterprise has not stepped in or been unsuccessful. Particular interest attaches in the circumstances to Sir Akbar Hydari's announcement that, "with the establishment of a Reserve Bank of India under an All-India Federation, it has now become imperative for Hyderabad to seek help in the solution of its banking problems through a State Bank of its own." The problem, especially of the management of such an institution, is fraught, it is recognized, with great difficulties, but everyone who knows anything of Hyderabad and the Hyderabadis will share the Finance Member's confident belief that the difficulties, though formidable, will be overcome.

In an Indian State, no less than in British India, it is very necessary for all classes of the population to have facilities for saving money, and to afford cheap and easy credit. To this end special attention has been devoted to the strengthening of the finances of the Co-operative movement, the indebtedness of the ryot, and the development of industries and mineral resources of the dominions. Hyderabad is to be congratulated on its latest advance in this direction, and it is encouraging to learn that "the people are getting used not only to transact all their business in the currency of the State, but also to invest their surplus funds in State loans, State postal savings banks, and industrial concerns within the dominions."

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MEDICAL AND SANITARY REPORT OF H.E.H. THE NIZAM OF HYDERABAD'S GOVERNMENT FOR THE YEAR 1343 FASLI (October 6, 1933, to October 5, 1934). (*Reviewed by* SIR LEONARD ROGERS.)

Once more the medical report of the Hyderabad State, under the enlightened government of His Most Exalted Highness the Nizam, and the administration of Colonel J. Norman Walker, I.M.S.(Ret.), presents a record of steady advance. Subsidies to enable medical practitioners to supply much-needed free medical attendance in the smaller towns and in villages were only partially successful. A new mental hospital to accommodate cases of mania, etc., now in a central gaol, has been sanctioned, and an eye diseases hospital is under consideration. A sanatorium for tuberculosis in the hills has been provided at a cost of 6½ lakhs, together with tubercle clinics. The well-equipped Osmania General Hospital, and the Victoria Zenana Hospital at headquarters, attract increasing numbers of patients, and both were highly commended by Lady Willingdon after visits to them. Over two thousand maternity cases were attended in the latter institution. The Leper Home and Hospital at Dichpali, under the Rev. G. M. Kerr, treated 963 cases, all in a stage amenable to treatment and mostly of an infective type, and with an average number of resident patients of 493 no less than 310 were discharged during the year free from symptoms after an average of sixteen months' treatment—an example to other provinces of the successful application of our present knowledge. In addition, leprosy clinics are in operation at every district hospital; yet three-fourths of suitable applicants for admission to Dichpali had to be refused for want of room.

The sanitary department is equally progressive, and the continued prevalence of plague is being dealt with by inoculation, and also by the more radical method of supplying model rat-proof houses. A chart shows well the hot weather seasonal decline with the rise of the saturation deficiency, or dryness of the air, inimical to the carrier rat flea. The malaria department has also been active in closing 700 mosquito breeding wells, etc., with a gratifying decrease of the spleen rates in the suburbs of the city, and Boy Scouts have been utilized in carrying out anti-malaria measures. The vaccination department is equally efficient with a record of 97·5 per cent. successes. Altogether the report reflects credit on all concerned. The index is a useful feature, but it might with advantage be supplemented by a table of contents to enable the arrangement and scope of the report to be evident at a glance at it.

THE GAIKWADS OF BARODA. English Documents—Vol. I. Pilaji and Damaji Gaikwads (1720-1768). Edited by J. H. Gense, S.J., Ph.D., and D. R. Banaji, M.A., LL.B. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*) Rs. 4.

(*Reviewed by* SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

We have here a compilation, a piece of laborious research work, intended to "contribute towards the foundation of the historical edifice that some enthusiastic worker may be tempted to raise." It consists almost entirely

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of selections from records in the custody of the Bombay Government which describe and illustrate episodes in the stormy years 1721-68, when Gujarat and Surat were bones of contention between Muslims and Marathas, and the servants of the East India Company were increasingly compelled to stand to their arms and strengthen their forces in order to protect their factories and business. It was in Gujarat that the early Gaekwars, Pilaji and Damaji, played their part, establishing a principality which after many vicissitudes developed into the well-ordered Baroda State of the present day. The whole story is briefly summarized in a short historical introduction. But the collection of extracts ends with the record of a report of Damaji's death in 1768. Further volumes will follow. We must regret that after industriously collecting so much valuable material the authors have not used it more fully in writing the history. The few lines of explanation which begin each chapter are hardly sufficient guides to the reader who threads his way through the subsequent quotations. The period is in any case difficult and confusing, for Western India was in a state of chaos. The central power at Delhi was collapsing; the "subadár" and Nawabs were endeavouring to set up for themselves; even the small community of Sidis was pegging out claims; the Portuguese were losing ground to the Dutch, to the English and to the Marathas. The servants of the East India Company found their trade constantly impeded and lived in the perpetual turmoil described in Bombay records and notably in the Diaries of the Surat factory. The headquarters of the Mogul Viceroy were at Ahmedabad, but all Gujarat was overrun by freebooting Marathas, "Ganims" (looters or enemies), as the Muslims called them. Distracted or contentious nawabs sometimes employed one band of "Ganims" against another, and the Viceroy would ask the Peshwa to help him against the Gaekwar. Many quotations testify to the oppression and plundering that went on. "The country was ruined by war." Daniel Innes wrote from Cambay on April 11, 1725: "Our lives and fortunes are dependent on the caprice of armed villains who have cessed me of Rs. 5,000." On the 4th of the following month he says that at Ahmedabad Hamid Khan, assisted by Ganims, cesses the houses, and as he catches a man "squeezes him according to his estate" (p. 7).

And so the story continues. Pilaji was murdered in 1732, and his son Damaji established a shifting uncertain dominion by traditional Maratha methods, but suffered much from Peishwa Balaji Bajirao, to whom he signed away his independence. He fought at Panipat in 1761 and later on espoused the cause of Raghoba, sharing in the defeat of that unlucky individual in 1768, and dying shortly afterwards. He was evidently a typical Maratha chief of those stormy times.

A long chapter is given to extracts from records which relate to the "capture of Surat castle by the English (1758-9)." It had been seized by Sidi Masud, a member of a family of titular admirals of the empire, and on this occasion had been supplied with arms by the Dutch. Other Sidis held the castle for a few years and were thus able to dominate the city while nawabs or would-be nawabs fought each other, and the Marathas hovered round. The English carried on and organized their slender forces.

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At last the merchants and traders petitioned the Presidency Government for the forcible eviction of the usurpers. The Peshwa's consent was obtained and after stiff fighting the Sidis and their supporters, who included a contingent of the Nawab's troops, were ejected. The castle and city passed wholly under British control and the Company was proclaimed the titular Emperor's admiral "vice" the Sidi.

Observing the many and great dangers in which the Company's servants were constantly set, one is impressed by the tardiness of the Directors in providing them with adequate military protection. It was only after 1798, and the first war with the French on the Coromandel coast that new ideas took gradual shape and serious military organization began in the Bombay Presidency. But even then it was on a very small scale, as in those days commerce was much restricted and territorial revenue was lacking.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1670-1677. Vol. I. (New Series). The Western Presidency. By Sir Charles Fawcett. (*Oxford.*) 18s. net.

(*Reviewed by* DR. C. COLLIN DAVIES.)

The historian of British India cannot complain of a paucity of records. On the contrary, he is apt to be overwhelmed by their superabundance. This is especially the case with the records of the East India Company, which form very valuable historical material. The distance of the Court of Directors in London from the Company's settlements in India, combined with a trading concern's natural desire to make its ventures a financial success, necessitated a close and constant supervision of its servants' activities in the East Indies. Political entanglements with the "Country Powers," together with the intrigues of hostile European trading bodies, alarmed the Directors and led to a still more jealous supervision of the actions of their subordinates. Finally, the fact that the three chief settlements were administered by councils has provided the student with excellent historical records in the form of minutes and dissenting minutes.

Thirteen volumes of this invaluable selection of documents have already been published by that able and distinguished editor, Sir William Foster, whose work is always marked by wide knowledge and scrupulous accuracy. The volume under consideration forms the first of a new series, and is the work of Sir Charles Fawcett, who recently broke fresh ground in his study of *The First Century of British Justice in India.* Without any fear of exaggeration it can be said that the work of the new editor exhibits the same scholarship and accuracy which marked the earlier volumes. Indeed, his task has been rendered more difficult by the fact that the contents of the factory records are now "digested into a readable account of the main events in each year." Some idea of the work entailed in the preparation of this volume will be obtained from the footnotes in which the editor has acknowledged his indebtedness to his predecessors in this field: Hamilton, Fryer, Anderson, Bruce, Campbell, Da Cunha, Douglas, Edwardes, Khan and Foster.

The new volume deals exclusively with the Western Presidency—that is,

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the Company's settlements at Bombay and Surat and on the Malabar coast. At the beginning of 1668 Bombay was still royal property, but towards the end of that year news reached India that the Crown had granted it to the East India Company "in free and common socage as of the Manor of East Greenwich, on payment of the annual rent of £10 in gold." Upon the death of Oxenden, in January, 1670, Gerald Aungier succeeded to the dual post of President of Surat and Governor of Bombay. Aungier, who was a man of considerable foresight, soon realized that the island of Bombay was a more suitable base for English enterprise on the west coast of India than Surat, which suffered from the lack of a good harbour and was constantly exposed to Maratha raids.

It was fortunate for Bombay that at this critical stage in its development Aungier was called upon to take charge of its administration, for not only was the commerce of the Malabar coast exposed to the ravages of pirates, but the war between Aurangzeb and Sivaji, the Maratha leader, also prevented the development of the Company's trade with the Deccan. The Sidi admirals of the Mughal fleet were frequent but unwelcome guests. The hostility of the Portuguese almost led to war, and the danger of attack from a Dutch fleet during the war of 1672-74 was frustrated only by Aungier's exertions. In addition to this external menace, he was confronted, in 1674, with a mutiny of the soldiers composing Captain Shaxton's company. Moreover, the island, because of its deleterious climate, acquired an evil reputation. Ovington likened it to a charnel-house, in which the life of a man was barely two monsoons; Mackintosh compared it to a city of the dead; and Wellington wished he had never seen it. Of the insalubrity of Bombay in these early days this volume affords abundant evidence.

To Aungier Bombay was "a city which by God's assistance is intended to be built." As early as 1671 he proposed that Bombay should be made the chief centre of the Company's government on the Malabar coast, but this advice was not acted upon for another sixteen years. Nevertheless, Aungier was the real founder of Bombay. Perhaps of all his many achievements his judicial reforms, which laid the foundations of British justice in Bombay, were the most remarkable. He made the first systematic attempt to introduce courts of law, and, in the words of Hamilton, "brought the face of justice to be unveiled and erected a formal court where pleas were brought in and debated." All disputes had to be brought before the Court of Judicature, with the exception of certain restricted judicial powers granted to the Panchayats established by Aungier. His judicial reforms are well discussed in Sir Charles Fawcett's *The First Century of British Justice in India*, pp. 29-97. The Convention associated with his name marks one of the most important epochs in the history of land tenures in Bombay. It fixed the land revenue at an annual sum of 20,000 zerafins, which included the previous quit-rent or Foras, and restored to their former owners the lands that had been attached by Sir Gervase Lucas. During Aungier's term of office the population of the island rapidly increased, for he encouraged immigration in accordance with the Company's orders. It is to him, too, that we owe the establish-

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ment of the first British mint in India. In his efforts to undertake the reclamation of inundated areas he was thwarted by the zeal for economy displayed by his masters at home. By September, 1675, when he left Bombay for Surat, he had increased its revenues by about 67,800 zerafins (*c.* £5,000). Aungier died at Surat on June 30, 1677. A tablet to his memory was erected over his supposed tomb in 1916, but "no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day," and the present city of Bombay is his most fitting monument.

SOUTHERN INDIA—ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. By Gilbert Slater. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON.)

Dr. Gilbert Slater was Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, before he went to India, at the age of fifty-one, as first occupant of the recently created chair of economics in the University of Madras. The appointment was for a term of five years, and on its completion he stayed on for another year in charge of the Madras Publicity Office. The period of his Indian service extended over three years of the war and for so long after as to enable him to sit for a year as a nominated member of the first Legislative Council under the Reform scheme. Bringing to his new task considerable experience of men and affairs and a matured judgment, Dr. Slater was allowed a free hand in settling the lines upon which economic studies should be pursued under the ægis of the University. The book now under review is a personal narrative of his experiences written fourteen years later and apparently mainly from memory and therefore by no means free from minor errors. These, however, do not detract from its value as a contemporary account of current events from the point of view of a close observer who was in sympathy with Indian political and economic aspirations.

The value of the book is mainly psychological as describing the reactions of a specialist called to an important position in India at very nearly the age of retirement of the administrative officers with whom he would be associated. There is generally an extreme degree of reluctance on the part of men who have obtained recognition at home to sever their connections and take on work in an entirely new environment for a few years. It was a bold step on the part of Dr. Slater, and seems to have been attended with success, as may be gathered from the Foreword, written by the Marquis of Willingdon, who was Governor of Madras during the latter half of Dr. Slater's residence in Madras. The British element in the Indian educational services is rapidly diminishing, and is likely in time to become a negligible quantity, except in so far as there will be a demand for outside specialists of distinction to maintain a high standard of efficiency by the occupation of professorial chairs and possibly administrative posts for periods much too short ordinarily for it to be worth while to take them up. There is some evidence that foreigners are more ready to respond to such invitations, and it is by no means desirable that these opportunities for the

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strengthening and spread of British culture and ideas should be lost. It is therefore all to the good that Dr. Slater should have furnished a detailed account of the years he spent in India, of the people he came in contact with and the work he accomplished. The result may be summed up in his concluding remarks. He was loath to leave the country, but eager to be home again. On his return in 1922 he was appointed lecturer to Indian Civil Service Probationers at the London School of Economics and to the Oxford University I.C.S. delegacy. In the future it would be well if British Universities would take into serious consideration the framing of regulations whereby members of their staffs could be seconded for a time to take service in India and the Overseas Dominions. There should be no serious difficulty in the way, and it will do much to compensate for the cessation of permanent appointments, which is the inevitable sequel of local progress in these regions.

With the rapid changes which have taken place in India during the last few years Dr. Slater's narrative deals with conditions which have subsequently been greatly modified. It is, nevertheless, an interesting account of one of the most turbulent periods in the history of Southern India since it came under our control. The many problems, social, economical and political, in which he became interested are beyond the scope of this review to deal with. He presents his views with moderation, and in conclusion it should be acknowledged that he did much to put the study of Indian economics on a sound basis. To one who was more or less behind the scenes, both before and after Dr. Slater's sojourn in Madras, his comments on men and the parts they played are refreshing and often amusing.

FAR EAST

MILITARISM AND FOREIGN POLICY IN JAPAN. By E. E. N. Causton. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The writer has compiled a fine bibliography, and there is no doubt that he has studied the books that figure therein. In his concluding words he writes that in the so-called democratic countries the military have been the servants of the Government, whilst in Japan at least the military have held a position independent of Government. And it is this policy which Mr. Causton has set out to explain. One wonders, in view of Japan's rise to a great Power, whether a system, like the so-called democracy, is good for every nation on the globe, or whether each nation should not work out its own salvation. There is a map which serves to illustrate militarism in Japan. Mr. Causton properly mentions that such Governments must be rightly understood in the light of their historic past and culture.

PROBLEMS OF CHINESE EDUCATION. By V. Purcell. (*Kegan Paul.*) 10s. 6d. net.

A number of events during the last 30 years have produced a change of mental attitude amongst leading Chinese authorities. One of the subjects which is receiving attention is education, of which several pamphlets issued

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in China give abundant proof. Dr. Purcell is in his treatment of this important question a pioneer whose knowledge and research should find a hearty welcome in Chinese and English circles. The volume does not pretend to give a history of Chinese education; this remains to be written. It rather deals, as the title suggests, with the problems which in the near future have to be faced. In the first chapter the author discusses the old system, and he asks pertinently the question: What was a Chinese taught in the pre-Han period, and how was he taught? The Book of Rites gives hints to the answer. The interesting remark is made that the literary system was uninterrupted until a few years ago, with the exception of some changes in the Sung dynasty when Wang An-shih introduced them. In the last chapter Dr. Purcell writes of the present period, and the information he gives is most valuable. There are above all the good intentions on the part of the Nanking Government, but several reasons have so far prevented them from bringing their good resolutions to effective fruition.

Dr. Purcell, himself a Chinese student, has devoted his energy to a painstaking pursuit, as will be noticed by many references, and perhaps he will be called upon to further Chinese education in the right direction.

THE NETHERLANDS INDIES DURING THE DEPRESSION. By Prof. Dr. A. Neytzell de Wilde and J. Th. Moll. (Amsterdam: *J. M. Meulenhoff.*) Fl. 1.40.

This book consists of a survey prepared for the Sixth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations which met recently in California, and is a valuable textbook for the business man and student of economics. Those who have read the two articles by Dr. Cecile Rothe in the previous and present issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW will find much supplementary information in this survey. It is a sad story of dwindling trade, which, however, appears now to have run its course. The authors stress the reluctance with which the Government departed from the time-honoured policy of free-trade, and express the hope that the present restrictive measures are only of a temporary character in view of the sound structure of the Netherland colonies. Nevertheless recovery is dependent on the developments in the outside world, and especially in the Pacific.

NEAR EAST

THREE DESERTS. By C. S. Jarvis. Illustrated by Frank Lee. (*John Murray.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The three deserts which Major Jarvis had to administer are in Egypt. The first, the Kharga Oasis, lying west of Luxor; the Siwa Oasis, bordering on the Cyrenaica frontier; and the third in Sinai, to the east of the Suez Canal. One must not presume that the author is content with a description of his administration. On the contrary, the book is full of entertainment, which the reader will enjoy. During his eighteen years' residence Major Jarvis was enabled to study the Arab in his life, work, and manners. The

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author was in charge of the army which annihilated the locusts in 1930 when they threatened to destroy the crops of Egypt. Another of his duties was to initiate the fertilization of the desert.

ENGLAND AND THE NEAR EAST: THE CRIMEA. By Harold Temperley. (*Longmans.*) 25s. net.

Professor Temperley, who is a well-known specialist on the Balkans and Turkey, has here produced an important and learned work dealing with the first fifty years of the past century pertaining to this subject. He outlines the disputes and struggles of the various Balkan States and their gradual rise to independence. Then the author describes minutely the internal history of Turkey, beginning with Sultan Mahmud, that country's relations with the European Powers, and, finally, the events leading up to the Crimean War. The author concludes that the chief responsibility for the war lay with the policy of Russia and Great Britain. Russian troops were sent to the Turkish principalities on May 27, 1853, and a few days later the British Fleet went to the Dardanelles. A very helpful part of the book is the list of Turkish and foreign words with explanations. The numerous notes are most valuable, as showing the extensive study of literature and documents which Professor Temperley has made for this conscientious and laborious work. The table of contents and the index have been compiled with great detail and accuracy.

GENERAL

STRANGE COAST. By Liam Pawle. (*Lovat Dickson.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

This is a distinguished and unusual novel, by an author whose anonymity is not wholly beyond the powers of intelligent conjecture; for there are not a great number of living writers whose knowledge of the Caucasus is at once so masterly and so intimate. But since Mr. "Liam Pawle," doubtless for good reason, prefers to leave his work unsigned, it is not for a reviewer to draw aside the veil. In sheer power the story is reminiscent of the earlier and less sophisticated "thrillers" of John Buchan; but underneath all the adventure which the most hardened reader can require in a bedside book, there is a high and serious purpose. The repulsive operations of international finance, and the manner in which money-power, under unregulated individualism, can play havoc with the lives of honest men, have rarely been exposed in more telling fashion; and the strange, perverted loyalty with which the financier is served by his tools constitutes by no means the least poignant element in the story. The whole book reads less like a novel than a piece of sober history; and it is no exaggeration to say that there is scarcely a single episode which might not happen today or tomorrow. It is only preserved from unrelieved tragedy by a singularly touching love story; but even over this romance the sordid shadow stretches. Mr. "Liam Pawle" must be congratulated upon the artistry which has preserved him

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from the temptation of falling into the snare of the "happy ending"; for it needs no small determination to persist unflinchingly in the course which involves two such charming people as Amber and Rustya in unmerited disaster. No one who reads this book will readily forget it; and the majority of readers will be driven to ask themselves some unpleasantly searching questions about the organization of society which makes such happenings possible; which, there can be little doubt, is Mr. "Liam Pawle's" intention. If so, he has fulfilled it with remarkable efficiency.

"LA QUINZAINE COLONIALE"

"La Quinzaine Coloniale" is the organ of the Union Coloniale Française, whose director, Mr. Le Neveu, contributes to the present number of the Asiatic Review in the form of a lecture delivered before the East India Association. The second issue for November contains a valuable account of the conclusions arrived at by the recent Conference of Governors-General. The recommendations include protection of the home and colonial markets, with the rider that the French producer should take account of indigenous power of absorption, especially in the matter of motor-cars and tobacco. Further, it is proposed to set up co-operative organizations for production and consumption. Special attention is to be paid to the soil, not only in agriculture, but also forestry, fisheries and prospecting. Although these are "recommendations," the main reason for the use of the term is that they require the sanction of various Government departments, and an early start in carrying them out may be expected.

In the chronicle of discussions in the French Chamber there is an account of the new Budget of the Ministry of the Colonies, which stands at nearly eight million pounds, and shows an increase over the previous year of nearly one million pounds. The rise in the cost of the civil administration amounts to one and a half million francs, that of the army to thirty million francs for a military establishment of 1,774 European commissioned and 16,741 non-commissioned officers and men and 42,222 colonial troops. This does not represent any increase in armaments or personnel. It is accounted for by increased pay and enrolments. The traditional French encouragement of the arts is reflected in a subsidy to the Ethnographical Museum in Paris.

In the course of the debate Mr. Jean Niel envisaged the creation of an Imperial Ministry to grapple with the manifold problems of France's overseas posessions. Their duty was to give expression henceforward to the national will that this heritage would in no circumstances be diminished to profit other Powers. He was willing, however, to consider accords with countries having a prolific population for the exploitation of primary products, but on condition that no obstacle was presented preventing those who wished to do so from taking up French citizenship. He was opposed to any surrender of mandates and laid down the formula "the Empire is one and indivisible."

In the section devoted to Indo-China Mr. Lalande gives an encouraging account of the improvement in the general situation. The sale of com-

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modities had increased, and the political atmosphere was calm, in spite of the anxieties which had been expressed in September.

INSTITUT COLONIAL INTERNATIONAL

THIS organization, with headquarters in Brussels, holds periodical congresses at which authorities from the colonizing powers are able to compare their experiences and debate subjects of mutual interest. At the meeting held in London last October two subjects of great importance were discussed, one of which has a direct bearing on Asia—viz., "means for the spreading of thought and ideas in the colonies—the cinema, broadcasting, and the press." An extremely valuable preliminary report (in French) on the subject was presented by Dr. H. Jelgerhuis-Swildens, and has been printed. It gives a review of the Government regulations in force in all the colonial territories with respect to the press, the cinema, broadcasting, and the gramophone. He sounds a warning note regarding the evil effect of unsuitable films, and the danger of the radio being used by foreign political parties in order to make propaganda in favour of their ideas.

Speakers at the Conference with Asiatic experience included Dr. Neytzell de Wilde (who three years ago read a paper before the East India Association), Baron van Asbeck, Mr. John Coatman, and Mr. C. F. Strickland.

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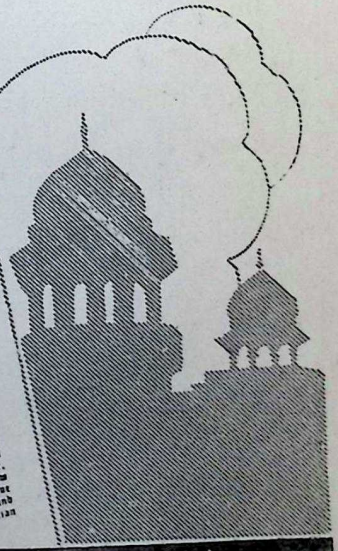

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THE
ASIATIC REVIEW
JULY, 1937

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE CINEMA IN INDIA: ITS SCOPE AND POSSIBILITIES

By Dewan Sharar

To understand the part that films play in the life of the Indian people, a glimpse at their history is necessary. In the early days of motion pictures all the films shown in India were imported. But she soon began to make her own; and though the first of these indigenous products were tentative and unskilled, they were warmly received. The very first Indian film to be produced was *Harishchandra*, in 1913. The industry grew—awkwardly, perhaps, at first; hampered by very many difficulties and drawbacks; but it kept on undaunted nevertheless, and all the time improved perceptibly.

In 1927-28 the Government of India appointed an Indian Cinematograph Committee to investigate the state and potentialities of the growing film industry in India. It carried out its task thoroughly and with the greatest success, making the most exhaustive enquiries, and putting many valuable suggestions and recommendations before the Government. Unfortunately, these —with the single important exception of a rebate on imported educational films—were not taken up. Since then, owing to the introduction of the talking film, the conditions of the film industry have altered greatly, and only a few of the conclusions reached by the Committee would apply today.

In India, the advent of the talking picture made a difference even more revolutionary than it produced in the West. This was largely due to the language problem. The majority of the films

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then being shown in India were still British, American, or Continental. The silent films, being of necessity obliged to tell their story satisfactorily in dumb show, with no more help than a few captions, were equally comprehensible to all beholders, of whatever nationality. But the introduction of the spoken word altered all that. At least half the story was now told by the dialogue and not the action. This inevitably spoiled the enjoyment of the vast number of uneducated or semi-educated Indians who understood no language but their own. Add to this the age-old and insistent canon of Indian art that any play, no matter what the manner of its presentation, should include songs—and it will be seen how great a demand was instantly created for films made specially to the requirements of purely Indian audiences. This meant films constructed in obedience to the laws of tradition, showing Indian people speaking in their own tongue and behaving in accordance with their own standards.

Indian Sound Films

Such a demand inevitably created a supply. The film-producing companies already in existence—they were not many—after waiting a little while to make sure that the innovation was likely to be permanent, turned their attention to talking films; and other people, realizing how profitable a prospect lay within their reach, hastened to take advantage of it also. The tremendous success and popularity of *Alam Ara,* the first Indian sound-film to be produced, was a great stimulus to the Indian film world. New companies sprang into being with great rapidity, some well capitalized and equipped, others less so, but nearly all goaded by the same urge—to make as many Indian pictures as possible, as quickly as possible, and sell them to the eager market.

That was seven years ago; but the situation is much the same today. Speaking broadly, it does not make for the highest quality of pictures. True, there are serious-minded companies in existence, both large and small, which are wise enough to combine art, sincerity, and a business sense, and proceed unhurryingly to give of their best; and the pictures they create are outstanding—so far as India is concerned. Moreover, they have found markets not only

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in their own country, but in Burma, Ceylon, British Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, Indo-China, East Africa, South Africa (where there is a considerable Indian population), the West Indies, the Fiji Islands, Mauritius, and Aden. But the fact remains, and must be faced, that as yet no entirely Indian picture, produced in India, with Indian directors, actors, and technicians, has been good enough to be sold and shown in the West.

It will be seen, then, that the Indian motion-picture industry has made a good deal of growth, but very little progress. It *has* progressed, of course. Not long ago, on the Indian stage or screen, women's parts were played as a matter of course by boys or even young men, because acting was considered a shameful profession for women. Possibly the influx of European and American films has been responsible for the partial breaking down of this prejudice. Even now, however, most of the Indian women who appear on the screen are drawn from the dancing-girl class. A few notable exceptions are those of special films in which cultured Indian ladies have consented to appear.

While films of poor quality have sufficed and still suffice the uneducated masses, who are not critical, it is obvious that they will not satisfy educated Indians, whose artistic tastes are high. Moreover, it must be remembered that the indigenous product has ever since its inception been shown side by side with American and British films, mostly of very high quality. The respective reactions of the two types of Indian audience are interesting. The illiterate filmgoer prefers a bad Indian film to a good imported one, because he can understand it all. The educated filmgoer compares the two, not without regret, and would immeasurably rather see a *good* Indian film than either. Unfortunately these, judged from the accepted standards, are still rare. In this connection it is significant that at the recent elections in India, when Congress decided to have a film made for the purposes of propaganda, they so far disregarded their own slogan of "Swadeshi" (that is, literally, "Indigenous products only") as to give the order to an American firm.

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Training and Organization

The reason is emphatically not lack of ability. The ability is there, but it needs organizing, training, and guiding into the proper channels. Perhaps the most important of these needs is training. The Indian motion-picture industry is suffering from a grave dearth of skilled technicians. We have in India a wide variety of scenery—beautiful, dramatic, intriguing, strange—we have a land full of ancient and magnificent buildings, unmatched elsewhere; we have a storehouse of history, legend, and literature which is a veritable treasury for the screen writer. We have women beautiful enough, young men handsome enough, and older folk with enough character depicted on their faces, to compete with any film stars of the Western world; all capable of fine acting, given the right directors. But unhappily good technical directors are scarce in India, and so are good camera-men, scenario-writers, electricians and printers and cutters. There is also a lack of organization, in particular of properly organized capital.

It is sad but true that a good many young men with a few thousand rupees to invest in a career go blithely in for film-producing because it looks easy (the other man's job always does); and it seems to promise fun. To those who succeed—as, without any particular justification, they are quite sure they will—it offers large, quick rewards in money and fame. They do not realize until too late that they not only need an artistic sense—sometimes they start without even that—but also technical qualifications and experience. So they either fail, sometimes tragically, or they struggle along, making pictures only suited to the undiscriminating; or in a few cases they succeed within certain narrow limits. Enthusiasm is good, but it is no substitute for technical knowledge.

Therefore, until recently, American and British films have predominated in India. I am now informed on credible authority that the proportion is changing, and that lately the number of Indian films shown in India has been at least equal to that of the American or British.

Of the two last-named, the majority are American, because America has been much more active on the business side than the

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United Kingdom, especially in the past. A chain of American film distributing agencies, elaborately organized, and staffed by resident representatives, runs right through India, and has been established there for years. Until comparatively recently most of the British firms have been content to leave their distribution to these agents, without employing a single direct representative of their own. As a result, British films have been, and still are, notably in the minority; in 1935-36 only 2,500,000 feet of exposed film were imported into India from Great Britain, as compared with 4,500,000 feet from the United States. Happily there are signs that British producers are beginning to awaken to this state of affairs, and to realize the unwisdom of neglecting so large a market; but unfortunately the awakening process is still very slow. It must also be remembered that they have much to compete with. I wish it were possible to encourage them by some measure of Government protection or Imperial preference: especially as the output of American films is so much greater than England's. I understand that America's total yearly production is between seven and eight hundred films, as compared with at the most a hundred and fifty to two hundred in the United Kingdom.

There is a constant and growing demand in India for good British films, in spite of the advantage gained by the Americans over so many years. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Generally speaking, I think, British films are easier for Indian audiences to understand. For one thing, they present a more understandable world. Indian people know the Englishman; they and he have lived together for a long time; and, in the case of the upper classes, live in precisely the same style; and even those who do not share the same mode of living are—apart from the folk in remote villages—accustomed to his outlook, his reactions to life and its contingencies, his design for living.

The American, on the other hand, with his totally different mental processes, his behaviour, which is liable to appear irrational, and his frequently startling manners, is sometimes difficult of comprehension. So, on occasion, is his language, which in films dealing with lower-class American life often diverges so widely from the English tongue, what with its slang, its pro-

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nunciation, and its differing use of words, as to make considerable portions of it bewildering even to English people. Another important reason why Indian audiences prefer British films is that the latter are definitely more restrained in depicting love-scenes. Indians—especially Indian women, whose modesty is proverbial—do not like violent or prolonged love-making on stage or screen; they prefer such matters to be touched on with delicacy. Nor, incidentally, are scenes laid in American law courts, with their travesty of justice, bullying of prisoners, and uproariously-behaved counsel, in harmony with either Indian or British conceptions of the law and its administration. On the other hand—and quite apart from their excellent quality and high entertainment value—American films have the advantage of giving their audiences a glimpse and more than a glimpse of the life and culture of another country; this in addition to England.

In this connection it may be noted that in the days of silent pictures Continental productions were plentiful in Indian cinemas. Since the advent of the talking film there are practically none. All the educated classes in India read and write and speak English, which is their *lingua franca*; and it is understood in speech by a growing though still very small proportion of the ordinary people. The percentage familiar with French or German is, from the exhibitor's point of view, so small as to be negligible. Undoubtedly the English film is a valuable means of teaching the English language.

Vast Possibilities

The truth is that the film industry in India is still in its childhood, if not its infancy, and needs the right kind of nurture at its present stage of growth. Given this, it should before long be more than worthy to hold its own internationally, and eventually to occupy a position not unworthy of the unique place which Indian art holds in the artistic world.

Nowhere are the scope and possibilities of the cinema greater than in India. I do not mean from the entertainment viewpoint alone, though that is an important one. Recreation is a necessity for everyone, and in India the people who need it most—the

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worker who has toiled hard all day, the housewife whose life is sequestered and uneventful, and others who have little money to spend on amusement—are not catered for as they are in England. But as a means of instruction, of fostering the appreciation of art, and of promoting inter-racial understanding, there is no medium to compare with the film, supposing its potentialities to be properly explored and used. Moreover, its full exploitation is no mere Utopian dream. On the contrary, so vast and eager is the market, it could and should be a thoroughly practical paying proposition.

The principal needs of the Indian motion-picture industry are two: first, trained directors and technicians, as I have said; secondly, cinemas. It is a fact that there is still a notable shortage of picture houses in India. The big cities are adequately supplied; indeed, some are over-supplied; but the small provincial towns have few or none; while many of the people of the 700,000 villages in India have never seen a talking picture; some have never even seen a moving picture of any sort. The reason for this is that most Indian cinemas are run by individual enterprise, and the majority of people with capital to invest are shy of risking it in what they consider to be an uncertain sort of venture. There are at present in India 110 film-producing concerns, 99 distributing concerns; the capital invested is about £3,750,000; and 25,000 people find employment. Yet a recent figure shows that the number of cinemas in the whole of India is only 670, as compared with over 4,600 in the United Kingdom.

Providing Cinemas

I have two suggestions to make with regard to the industry. One is, that it would be well worth while for some well-established British firm to turn its attention to India, where the market is so large and the opportunities are so great.

The first thing to do would be to co-operate with the municipal corporations and governing bodies of each Province, and build a circuit of first-class cinemas in the important towns. This calls for less outlay than might be supposed, since the cost of building is far less in India than it is here, land, labour, and materials

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being cheaper and more easily obtained. A super-cinema could be erected in any provincial town at approximately one-tenth of what it would cost in England. These cinemas would be used for showing both British and Indian films; the firm's own products side by side with the best of the current Indian pictures, thereby meeting the needs of the picturegoer, and augmenting both their own and the Indian firm's market.

At the same time this enterprising firm would be setting up studios in India, there to collaborate with the best of Indian talent, combining their own technical skill with the artistry and beauty of the Indian side, making pictures to be shown at their own and other cinemas and, in many cases, exported as well. There would be unlimited scope for pictures of purely Indian appeal as well as those featuring both British and Indian artistes.

A further branch of the business would be the important one of catering for the villages where cinemas are unknown and many of the inhabitants have never seen a moving picture in their lives. Here a fleet of vans, fully equipped with the means of setting up a temporary cinema—marquee, screen, projecting and sound apparatus, etc.—in charge of competent operators, would be necessary. The potentialities of this sideline alone are greater than English people realize. It is, of course, nothing new in India; it has been carried on for years, but to a surprisingly small extent, owing mainly to the vastness of the country.

Indian Susceptibilities

I have no wish to minimize the difficulties with which such a firm would meet. They are many and great; but none of them are insuperable. Perhaps the most formidable is the problem which confronts every film-maker in India—that of catering correctly for *all* Indian tastes, and avoiding offence to Indian prejudices. The name of the latter is legion. There are racial, caste, and, above all, religious susceptibilities to be considered. No screen story is proof against them. They permeate history, they crop up in modern everyday life. What delights one section of the community may be the deadliest insult to another. Not only

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Western producers—who cannot, after all, be expected to understand all the ramifications of the Indian social system—but enlightened Indian producers who ought to know better, have fallen victims to this abiding danger. Sometimes they have done it through no fault of their own; sometimes they have brought it upon themselves.

There are many ways in which an enthusiastic, short-sighted producer (or playwright, or novelist, or journalist, or anybody else, for that matter) can incur the strong resentment of some or all the Indian people. One way is to fall foul of the tangle of religious and social intricacies, which are best left alone. Another is to tamper with history. There was once a good silent film called *Shiraz* dealing with the story of the Taj Mahal. Unfortunately, those responsible saw fit to alter the facts to suit their own purpose (making the builder of the Taj fall in love with the Empress Mumtaz Mahal was one of their brain-waves), and the film had to be proscribed in consequence of the outcry against it. An instance of the unwisdom of treading incautiously on sacred ground was the film *The Light of Asia*, dealing with the life of Buddha. An almost entirely Indian production, it was shown in England with great success, but gave such deep offence to the Buddhists that it was banned in Burma and Ceylon.

This is fully understandable when one remembers that in most religions, including the Christian faith, there are many who feel it something of a profanation to portray sacred figures on the screen. The Muhammadans, who form nearly one-fourth of India's population, are particularly susceptible in this matter. The Hindu religion, on the other hand, provides something of an exception to this rule: films depicting legends of the gods, goddesses, and saints—treated, of course, with accuracy and the utmost reverence—are extremely popular, especially among the older and more orthodox folk, and also the unlettered masses, whose piety is great. The younger generation of townsfolk is much more modern in its outlook; and though its members go to see religious films out of a sense of duty, they prefer British or American films, pictures of social life, and Indian-made musical comedy films. Indeed, the "musical," that typical product of

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the West, no sooner reached the East than it settled down there and became naturalized.

The enormity of contrasting European and Indian characters to the derogation of either, or of ridiculing either, or of making either in any general sense the villain of the piece, is too glaring to need enlarging upon; and in such cases the censor would quite rightly intervene. Another less obvious pitfall for the film producer in India is the fact that the age-old inter-communal feuds between Hindu and Muhammadan are as inflammable as celluloid, and a chance incident in a picture, showing either side in an unfavourable light, may, so to speak, set a match to them—sometimes with disastrous results, including riots and even bloodshed. There is only one means of insuring against these and similar blunders: and that is, for films dealing with any aspect of Indian life to be made only under the strict supervision of at least one Indian fully informed in the main facts and able to consult, if need be, the adherents of any religion or community concerned.

Co-operative Effort

It will be seen, then, that the possibilities of the film-producing industry in India are enormous. At the same time I am emphatically *not* recommending that it should be taken up and developed wholly by non-Indians. The manifest unfairness of this exploitation of their own country at the expense of the Indian film-making firms would be bound to arouse bad feeling, to say the least of it; and might even lead eventually to a boycott of the intruders' films and picture-houses. The solution is that of equal co-operation between Englishman and Indian. Fairness to both sides might be safeguarded by legislation if necessary; though somehow I do not think that this would be necessary.

My second suggestion is one which I should dearly like to see carried out: namely, Government assistance. This assistance could take many forms. A Government subsidy or system of loans would, of course, be the greatest possible boon and also the greatest possible stimulus to the trade—which, it must be remembered, is of great national importance. Another help would be grants to promising students to give them a thorough training, at

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the British studios, in the technical side of film producing. I should also like to see a Department of State or, if that is too much to hope for, a Bureau attached to one of the existing Departments, designed to aid and encourage the Indian film industry in every possible way, both advisory and practical.

And in England, what invaluable work could be done by an Empire Film Board working in conjunction with important organizations such as the East India Association and the Royal Empire Society, and with the Trade Departments of the various Dominions! London, as the metropolis of the Empire, would have to be the headquarters. The Board would act as a clearing-house for the best purely entertainment films produced in all parts of the Empire, and also for educational and commercial films from the same sources—travel and other interest films, and films showing how the different Empire products are produced and marketed.

What the Film Can Do

The immense power of the cinema, either for good or evil, is so well known that reference to it is a platitude. But I do not think it is fully realized in this country how great that power is in India, where great masses of the people are still illiterate and therefore especially impressionable. There was much talk a few years ago about the harm done in India by certain types of Western film, notably those depicting over-vehement love-scenes, raising social and marriage problems, and throwing sidelights on divorce, etc.—to say nothing of films which glorified the criminal. All these were calculated to encourage crime and vice and to lower Western prestige in the Indian mind. This was often true; fortunately, a wise censorship in the Presidency towns and in each Province has seen the danger, and while not unreasonably stringent, bans or efficiently cuts films likely to cause mischief.

On the other side of the picture is the cinema's power for good. Again, nowhere is its scope greater than in India. The most obvious example is the educational film. The uses of such films are almost unlimited, above all in so vast a country, where the great mass of the people are illiterate. I do not mean schooling

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alone, though the film can help tremendously there. But—as is already being done to an increasing extent under Government auspices—the film can be an incomparable medium for imparting knowledge of hygiene, agriculture, home industries, rural reconstruction, methods of dealing with illness or accidents, and similar invaluable information. I should like to see this matter taken in hand still more thoroughly by the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, and Public Health, as well as by the local governing bodies, who could arrange for the films to be produced by Indian companies. Here again the travelling cinema can come into its own and serve the remote and isolated villages.

Moreover, the educational film—and, even more, its near relative, the news-reel—is the best of all vehicles for propaganda. Here is the simplest and most acceptable means of promoting goodwill and understanding between Indian and English, between governors and governed, between different religious sects and racial communities; as well as for combating subversive political propaganda, and setting the true facts before the eyes of the people. The importance—indeed, the urgency—of this point cannot be over-estimated.

Another important aspect of the cinema is peculiar to India: namely, its value as a factor in the cause of national unity by the use of a common language. As we know, in the greater part of India most educated Indians are bilingual, speaking English and Hindustani; the uneducated Indian speaks his own local dialect, of which there are a great number. But since all of these are variants, to a greater or lesser extent, of either Hindi or Urdu—the two languages which together make up Hindustani—it follows that he can almost always understand Hindustani in some degree. There is therefore a growing movement among educated Indians to accept Hindustani as the universal language of the country—a consummation which would go far towards breaking down inter-communal barriers and uniting the peoples of India. Here the cinema is already proving a most valuable ally, and could be used to still greater advantage in this connection.

Let us endeavour to make the noblest possible use of so great a

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power as the cinema. There is nothing to compare with it, even remotely, as a means of familiarizing the peoples of different nations and races with one another, of revealing each to each in their daily life, of interpreting their ideals to each other, and of drawing them into closer touch and bringing that mutual knowledge which is the doorway to world-wide understanding and friendship and the realization of universal brotherhood.

The cinema can be a most powerful force in any cause; let us make full use of it for the promulgation of peace, the welfare of people and nations; and—an end which is dear to all our hearts—the promotion of increasing and, eventually, complete understanding between the peoples of East and West.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, April 13, 1937, when a paper entitled "The Cinema in India: its Scope and Possibilities" was read by Mr. Dewan Sharar. Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for India, was in the Chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., and Lady Maclagan, Mr. John de La Valette, Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh, Mr. C. G. Hancock, Mr. T. V. A. Isvaran, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Lady Bennett, Lady (James) Walker, Mrs. Weir, Mr. K. K. Lalkaka, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. G. W. Dawson, Dr. A. A. Bake, Dr. A. A. Puri, Dr. and Mrs. M. L. Kalra, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Wilmot, Mrs. B. D. Berry and Mr. Berry, Mrs. Gray, Mr. A. H. Chowryappah, Mr. K. B. Talookdar, Mrs. Mahomedi, Mr. T. P. Fernandez, Mrs. Helen R. McCallum, Mr. and Begum Sadiq Shah, Miss Batlivala, Miss A. R. Caton, Miss Speechley, Mrs. Anne Kalka, Miss Maclagan, Miss Hawarden, Miss Carter, Mr. B. K. Sinha, Miss L. M. Gunter, Madam Norah Lee, Miss Q. Reynolds, Miss Longhurst, Begum Shakir Mohamedi, Dr. C. L. Katial, Mr. W. Gordon Rayner, Tikka Gurbachand Singh, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—It is a great honour for me to be asked to take the Chair this afternoon at what, I think, is going to be a very interesting talk by Mr. Dewan Sharar. He is a member of a well-known family in the Punjab, and has been connected with the Indian stage and screen for the past eighteen years. He was the first Indian graduate of Northern India to form a repertory company, and he toured India with it, himself writing and producing nearly twenty plays. (Applause.) He is the author of *Karma*, the first all-Indian talking film, which had, as you remember, a very successful run in the Marble Arch Pavilion three years ago, and it was he who directed the Hindustani version. Three of his plays, especially written for the radio, have been broadcast by the B.B.C., and during his stay here, in addition to many short stories in daily papers, he has published a volume of Hindu fairy tales and a novel, *The Garden of Sheba*, which was very well received indeed.

He has acted in an advisory capacity to the Gaumont-British Picture Corporation in two of their recent important films, *East meets West* and *His Lordship*, in which Mr. George Arliss played the leading rôles. So you see there is no one better qualified to talk to us upon this subject.

Mr. DEWAN SHARAR: I had the pleasure of meeting the Chairman for the first time only a few minutes ago; but I knew of him and of his illustrious

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father, Sir Montagu Butler, and uncle, Sir Harcourt Butler. These two are known and remembered throughout India as great administrators and great gentlemen. When our esteemed friend, Mr. Brown, informed me that Mr. Butler had consented to preside over the meeting, I was delighted. I can assure you, sir, I feel deeply honoured at your being in the chair this afternoon.

Now a word about my paper. By pure coincidence I received last week three invitations to attend special film shows, all dealing with India. These were the Press presentation of *The Elephant Boy*, the exhibition of films at the Empire Tea Marketing Bureau, and a reception given by the Trade Commissioner for Mysore, at which a film was shown depicting the capture of wild elephants. The enthusiasm with which these were received went to strengthen my conviction that the films of India have a very real and universal appeal in the West, and most of all in England. This encourages me to hope that the following pages, dealing with the cinema in India, will hold something of interest for both English and Indian listeners.

(The paper was then read.)

The Chairman: Ladies and gentlemen,—I am sure I am voicing your feelings when I express your thanks to our lecturer this afternoon for a talk which I think in its scope and possibilities—which is part of its original title—is really remarkable, and for a paper which has been constructed with very great care in every detail. Very often, when a paper is constructed with such care, it lacks the human touch, but you, sir, have held our interest throughout this afternoon by the colourful manner of your presentation of your case and by the humanity with which you approach a subject in which we are all deeply interested.

I should like in my capacity as Chairman here today and from my position as a member of the Government to appeal to the British film industry to co-operate with Indians in developing the vast and as yet almost untouched market which India provides.

You, sir, mentioned various figures and told us that there were 670 cinemas in the whole of India—of which only about 450 showed Indian films—as compared with the figure of 4,600 cinemas in this country. You also reminded us, nevertheless, that the capital invested in the Indian industry is about Rs. 5 crores, and that the number of people engaged in it is 23,000. These figures show that the Indian industry, although not nearly as large as that of the United States, a country of an approximately equivalent size, where there are 20,000 cinemas, at least has made a start, and that for the future it has every advantage on its side.

You have pointed out that the Indian people have no lack of artistic talent. They have a most beautiful country, providing a variety of scene which perhaps no other country can rival.

I have always thought myself that the cameraman in the past, at any rate in the West, has been wrong to go always to the indoor studio, where he has to compete with the theatre, whereas if he goes outside to the realm of Nature, the theatre cannot compete with him. Perhaps the tropical mystery of the scenes in *Elephant Boy* will tend to encourage a movement which will

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depict themes from the epic past of India in the open-air beauty of her country, where drop-scenes and studios, and indeed, as you have reminded us, stars are ready-made.

What is now needed is the technical skill which British industry can provide. You, sir, have asked for further Government assistance. Well, let me deal with that for a moment. I am glad to say that the Government of India has reduced the import duty on raw films by 5 per cent. from April 1.

But apart from that I must remind you that under the new Constitution this department will be a provincial one, and that the responsibility for the development of the Indian cinema industry will rest with the various Provincial Governments. I think it is apposite for me here to draw a moral from this. I do not think that many Indians have realized the immense scope that there is in Provincial Government. This is just one example of the complete freedom which will now be in the hands of Provincial Governments to develop this vital aspect of the Indian cinema industry.

The great educational possibilities presented by the cinema, especially in a country where the population is largely illiterate, will, I am sure, not be neglected by future Indian Ministers in the responsible government of their various provinces, and if they miss this opportunity I think it will be a great pity.

The development of broadcasting in India has been carefully fostered by the Government, but the influence of the cinema may in many cases be used in that country to even greater effect. "Seeing is believing," and nowadays the talking film appeals to the ear as well as to the eye.

Well, sir, let me thank you again for your very interesting lecture. To show you that the Government has taken an interest in the industry, and always does when it is approached, I appeal again to the British industry to help you, and I hope that Indian Ministers will take advantage of the opportunities which you have been describing to us in your paper.

Now I should like to read to you letters from the leaders of British industry which have been sent this afternoon. I will read them in full because they raise most interesting topics. They illustrate the very great esteem in which our lecturer this afternoon is held.

Mr. Victor Peers (Production Manager, Gaumont-British Picture Corporation) wrote:

"I have read through the paper entitled 'The Cinema in India: its Scope and Possibilities,' by Mr. Dewan Sharar, with great interest.

"One or two small points have struck me, however, as needing some comment. Mr. Sharar says that in India there are some beautiful women and handsome men and folk with enough character depicted on their faces to compete with any film stars of the Western world. I am quite sure that Mr. Sharar will appreciate that the character depicted on a face is not enough in any country to make for film stardom, but that it is the character within the artiste which is capable of being drawn out by the director which is the essential factor.

"Again, in his remarks about the film *Shiraz*, he expresses as his opinion

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that it is a mistake to tamper with history. Here, again, I personally disagree. History in any case is but the description of events as seen or understood by one particular person, but my real point is that, provided the tampering with history does not destroy its entertainment value, but, on the contrary, enhances it, the general film public are not affected in their allegiance to any film. Although I am no authority on such matters, one remembers considerable criticism about the film *The Private Life of Henry the Eighth* on account of its historical inaccuracy, but this did not prevent the film from being one of the greatest successes made in this country. In the case of *Shiraz*, I believe that its unpopularity in India was not due to the distortion of history, but that the distortion did not find favour with a large section of Indian opinion.

"I have had some experience in India with film production and I most heartily endorse Mr. Sharar's remarks about co-operation. This is needed, I believe, more than anything else, and therefore I particularly feel that his suggestions for grants to students for training in British studios and a bureau to encourage the Indian film industry in both an advisory and practical form would be invaluable.

"For the rest, Mr. Sharar, I am sure, understands the problems infinitely more than I do, and I am sure that his remarks will be as interesting to the members of the Association as I have found them myself."

Mr. Gordon W. G. Rayner (General Secretary, Associated Talking Pictures, Ltd., and Associated British Film Distributors, Ltd.) wrote:

"I have just had the opportunity of discussing with Mr. Basil Dean, the chairman of my three companies, the opinions, suggestions and hopes so admirably set out in your paper, which we have both read with interest.

"Mr. Dean has asked me to assure you that the policy which our companies have adopted from the start is in itself an endorsement of the underlying principles contained in your paper, conscious as they have always been of the enormous power of the cinematograph film in the numerous ways you suggest.

"My companies would therefore welcome, not only some measure of State protection or Imperial preference as you suggest, which would enable them justifiably to expand their distribution activities, but also, and even more so perhaps, any co-operative scheme by which the resources and wealths of our respective countries and industries could be pooled and utilized so that more and more of the films shown on British screens throughout the Empire shall be *British* films with all the ideals that definition implies."

Mr. Robert Flaherty, the producer of *Elephant Boy*, wrote to Mr. Sharar:

"I have just read your paper entitled 'The Cinema in India,' which you are going to read tomorrow before the East India Association. I believe that the possibilities of making films in India is tremendous. They must be made by Indians themselves. No other country, save perhaps the Russian Empire, has such a diversity of people. There is one way, and one way only, in which to do it and that is through a medium which is the only medium of expression common to the whole world, the cinema.

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"One thing, it seems to me, is particularly urgent. Some provision should be made so that Indians could be enabled to learn whatever we, here in the West, know about making films both as to story and technique. Some very good work has already been done by Indians and India, but the number of Indians in India engaged in film work in relation to the vast population of the country is very small. Everything is in the future and a great future it has."

Dr. A. Bake: I agree fully with the lecturer as to the good the cinema can do in India. I have often seen at village fairs the travelling cinema showing the way to fight malaria, cholera and the other evils which threaten Indian village life, and teaching under the guise of an easily comprehensible story the principles of hygiene and so on to the illiterate villagers.

But there is one consideration which the lecturer has not mentioned, and that is the value of the cinema in making a record of those customs that are fast vanishing in India itself. One person has already done a great deal of work in that direction—I mean Mrs. Sten Harding, who has devoted years of intensive study and great personal sacrifices to make a record of the vanishing art of classical dancing, especially in Southern India, such as was practiced in olden days by the temple girls, which modern life is gradually eliminating. Also, in a further widening of that field, the cinema can show a great many customs in village dances and so on, which have a great importance in the cultural life of the people of India and which are bound to vanish. A record of these can be made by judicious and skilful filming.

This record is naturally of scientific value, but we all know how nowadays in India the interest in the life of India as it has been for very many hundreds of years, is widening and strengthening, and how from Indian life itself an impetus for a renaissance is gained. Consequently, if filming is taken up on a broad enough basis in India, the contribution the films can make to the strengthening of Indian national life by a faithful record of those customs which have been alive for so many centuries and are now threatened with destruction cannot be overrated.

So I am very thankful that the lecturer has drawn attention to the good work of the cinema, and I think if these things are included in cinematographic activity in India, "the promotion of increasing and, eventually, complete understanding between the peoples of East and West" (to quote his last sentence) will be greatly furthered.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak: I am very glad indeed to be able to join in this tribute to the lecturer, who in more than one direction has performed a very signal pioneer service to his country.

Unlike me, I think, however, he has not recently been to India, because if he had been I think he might have drawn a rather more optimistic picture of the actual technical situation there. It was three years, nearly four, since my last visit, and on both of those occasions I took the opportunity of going, when in Bombay, to see and hear some of the Indian films as distinguished from the Western films. I was tremendously interested in and greatly encouraged by what I saw on this latter occasion, and I think if

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Mr. Dewan Sharar had actually seen a film that I saw recently in Bombay, in which a former colleague of his, Devika Rani, took part, he would have been immensely encouraged in his view both of the general progress and of the technique of Indian film production.

There was one thing, however, that I noticed, and no doubt it would be taken note of by those who are concerned, and that is the actual effect of a picture upon a looker-on and a member of the audience. I do not think there has been sufficient care taken, at least not in the theatre where I went—which was one of the most prominent in Bombay—as to how the thing actually strikes on the ear. It is no use, it seems to me, having a very fine picture that in fact grates upon the ear, even if it charms the eye, because it is much too loud for the size of the hall. That kind of thing, I think, would have to be very carefully considered in any matter of theatre technique.

There were two or three other matters that were dealt with in the course of the paper to which I should like briefly to refer.

One was with regard to the question of the distortion of history or the modification of it. There is such a thing, of course, as putting history in a wrong perspective, but I do not think there is much to be gained by sticking exactly to what tradition gives us unless we are able to fill up the gaps. The average man is not particularly imaginative, and it is difficult for him to carry forward the whole story of what is, after all, a very slight theme unless it is filled in with detail which must largely be left to the imagination of the authors of the film. But I do agree that a great deal of care will have to be exercised in the possible effect of these changes or additions lest an entirely different impression should be caused.

I have recently in my professional capacity been asked to advise in regard to a certain book published in this country relating to a very interesting episode in Indian history of the last century. The author is personally known to me, and I saw the script before it was actually published. It did not seem to me that there was anything at all offensive in it; on the contrary, it struck me as being a fine work of art. But I was surprised on this visit to India to be told that it had caused in local circles the very strongest offence. It really indicates how careful producers would have to be in dealing with religious or historical subjects.

I was particularly interested in what the lecturer has said with regard to the value and use of the educational film in Indian villages and rural development. I think there is no doubt that what the ear receives by way of the radio has to be very largely added to by what the eye can see. What one hears but does not see can very often be a matter of mystery and misunderstanding, but where one sees the thing as well as hears what its subject is, it is a matter of very great advantage, it seems to me, from the point of view of the education of the average villager.

There was one passage in the early part of the lecturer's paper which I think should be amplified a little. He says: "But the fact remains, and must be faced, that as yet no entirely Indian picture, produced in India, with Indian directors, actors, and technicians, has been good enough to be sold and shown in the West."

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Of course, there would be the language difficulty. If he is referring to a film in the English language, that is another matter. I cannot pretend to judge about that, but I can see that there would be considerable difficulties about producing in the West a Hindustani play, particularly if, as the lecturer himself points out, it has to have a musical accompaniment and song. It would be difficult to reproduce that in the West, and if it had to be translated there would be still greater difficulties. I think that is a matter to which he might perhaps direct his attention. (Applause.)

Mr. G. W. Dawson: I should like to congratulate Mr. Dewan Sharar most sincerely upon the excellent composition of his paper, its clarity of expression, its comprehensive scope.

I worked in a Government department out there directly on film production for five years. I notice Mr. Dewan Sharar did not refer to the fact that there actually was a Government department dealing with films. The department produced over eighty films, concerned mainly with the work of the beneficent departments of films designed to show the people what the Government was doing for them—such films as *The Desert Awakes*, which dealt with the Canal Colonies of the Punjab, the reclamation of the desert round Montgomery, the Lloyd Dam in Sind; how ten million people were going to be put on the land and desert soil brought under cultivation greater in area than all the cultivated land in Egypt.

The difficulties in the producing of those films were very much the same as Mr. Dewan Sharar has pointed out. For example, the film on *Cattle Improvement in India* was produced at the Government Cattle Farm, Nagpur, in co-operation with the Agricultural Department. Having been produced in Nagpur, we soon found it was not acceptable in other parts of the country. It was shown at Karnal in the Punjab to peasant people, men concerned with cattle themselves, who, one would imagine, would be interested in learning how the men of the Central Provinces tend their cattle and improve the breeds, but when the picture appeared on the screen—all around one heard the remark from these men as they got up to go, "This is foreign." It seemed strange to hear Punjabis talk of anything produced in the Central Provinces as foreign. But they did not want to know what the people in the Central Provinces did, and we had to take that film off the screen at once.

That is one indication of the many difficulties Mr. Dewan Sharar has dealt with this afternoon. The language difficulty is, of course, a great one. It limits the marketability of a commercial film (with sound recording in a vernacular tongue) to a very confined market. The gross revenue is comparatively small; the expenditure must be commensurate, except in films appealing to Western audiences like *Bengal Lancer*, *Elephant Boy*, *Light of Asia*, where a large expenditure is justified by the gross financial returns. My authority for that is Mr. Ardesir Irani, one of the best producers in India, the head of the Imperial Film Company in Bombay, which I consider to be the best producing firm in India. He said he never spent more than 10,000 rupees, at the most 20,000 rupees, on a film. His reason was that he had so limited a market for his films that the market for them did not justify an

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expenditure of more than 10,000 to 20,000 rupees. That is an infinitesimal sum compared to the monies poured into American and English films. By the expenditure of large sums first-class brains are obtained, men who understand film production, men who are capable of thinking in terms of moving pictures. There are few people in this world capable of composing ideas into moving pictures. Flora Annie Steel once handed me four attempts of her own to write scenarios. They were pathetic. As an authoress she had a brain; as a scenario writer she had no brain at all. The same might be said of almost all big authors. There are very few creative minds in this world capable of using moving pictures as a medium of expression.

I was surprised that Mr. Dewan Sharar made no reference to the fact that in India the Government had run six cinema cars on railways, and that shows were given to six million people during a period of about five years until the talkie film came in, when it was found expenditure would have to be so great and the conditions had altered to such an extent that the work was dropped. At that time economy was the order of the day.

But even in my time, before I retired, the difficulty was faced of endeavouring to train Indians in the production of films, not only Indians, but Englishmen. We found that if they did not possess, inherent in themselves, that particular quality, a creative ability which is entirely different from administrative ability, they were useless. You must have men of creative ability, of imagination, insight, and particularly of that type of insight and imagination that goes to the making of good films. When you realize that a man of imagination and creative ability like Noel Coward makes an income twenty times as big as that of the Prime Minister of England, you realize that men of creative mind can command big salaries. If you want good films, you have to employ highly paid men. The difficulties of producing outstanding films are great, and even though you produce them in India, you have not the public in India, because it is divided up into many different provinces. There are many varying ethnological entities. They differ in their likes and dislikes, their outlook, their requirements, their essential needs. Those differences are cogent.

I, for one, doubt whether Hindustani would ever be understood all over the sub-continent of India. The conditions in India are different from what they are in America.

The best way of reaching the people is through the railways with travelling cinema cars giving open-air shows in the warm nights nine months of the year. The rains last only three months of the year. You can give open-air shows for the rest of the year.

The Government had done in India, up to the time when talking films came into being, a great deal. As regards the tourist attractions, we had films shown in America, and we have had our films showing the beneficent work of Government Departments shown at the Imperial Institute and elsewhere.

A great deal has been done. I have no doubt a great deal more can be done, particularly for smaller audiences of two hundred, with 16 millimetre substandard films at far less expenditure on production. In that way I have no doubt a great deal of propaganda work could be achieved, but

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behind it all lies the necessity for creative brains and creative ability, men who can think and express ideas in terms of moving pictures. If possible they should know India, or be Indians themselves. In any case they must co-operate with Indians.

Dr. A. A. Puri: The last speaker has suggested one or two points that I should like to refer to. I think that, years ago, the Government did very useful propaganda work through films for the benefit of the rural population, during the cholera and other epidemics, and thereby tried to explain and show the difficulties of these epidemics getting round; and that was a very useful piece of work. But it is very difficult to popularize, in a thing like that, the film industry.

We are discussing the commercial part of it; and what I understand Mr. Dewan Sharar to suggest is that the Government should help the growth and progress of the industry in the way it has patronized other industries in India.

I agree that there is very great scope for very useful work, but I do not agree with the last speaker that cheap films produced by Bombay are the only kind that would be appreciated in India. Perhaps his informer wanted to emphasize the monopoly of the Bombay industrialists, who have been so far keeping all the educated technicians out of this industry, so that not many people should come and spoil their monopoly. There is no prejudice, so far, against *pardesi* or foreign films in India.

We are grateful to Mr. Dewan Sharar, who started years ago to reform the theatre in India, and who, after that, has been trying to help the Indian film industry in a practical manner, not only with his brains, but his pocket also. I wish we could see, very soon, realization of a suggestion that he has made. Although I have not been to India recently, I agree with Mr. Polak that there have been great improvements made. But still there is a great scope for Mr. Dewan Sharar's suggestions to be tried.

Mr. Dewan Sharar: I am extremely pleased to find that my paper has evoked so much interest. I am particularly grateful to our Chairman for his very kind and encouraging remarks. I am grateful to the gentlemen who have taken part in the discussion, and I am also thankful to the three film chiefs of the three most important British film-producing concerns for the interest they have shown.

With regard to Dr Bake's advocacy of the recording of classical dances, etc., I would remind him that many Indian films are full of classical dancing, folk lore, folk song, festivals and fairs.

In reply to Mr. Polak's query as to whether films with Hindustani dialogue will have any appeal in the Western market, it would be worth while (in the case of really good pictures) to make an English version of the dialogue; or, as in the case of some continental films, to have English titles superimposed on the film. Regarding Mr. Polak's remarks based on his recent visit to India, I have mentioned in my paper that there are pictures which are of outstanding merit, and although I have not been to India recently, I have had a copy of a very recent address by the President

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of the second All-India Cinematograph Convention at Madras, in which he very frankly admits and deplores the poor progress of the Indian film industry.

As to what Mr. Dawson said regarding the Indian railways film department, I am fully aware of the importance of it—indeed, I myself supplied several entertainment films to more than one railway company—but as I was only touching on the matter briefly, I intended the phrase "commercial films" to cover these and all such activities and did not think it necessary to specify any particular department or firm.

It has been suggested that the character depicted on a face is not enough in any country to make them suitable for film stardom. Well, if it is not sufficient, then how did the phrase "casting to type" come into existence?

It has been suggested on my remarks about the film *Shiraz* that provided tampering with history does not destroy the entertainment value, all is well. I can quite see that this applies in England, but I was talking of India, where matters are very, very different. Among Indian audiences the entertainment value of a picture goes for nothing if the audiences find that their beloved and revered historical personalities are misrepresented on the screen or held up to insult.

My critic compares *Shiraz* with the *Private Life of Henry the Eighth.* Henry VIII. was hardly such a revered character as the Empress Mumtaz Mahal. Showing her as the beloved of the builder of the Taj Mahal would be more like depicting Queen Victoria involved in a love affair with, say, Mr. Gladstone. (Laughter.)

Sir James McKenna: The pleasant duty falls to me of expressing our thanks to the lecturer and Chairman.

I must say that I think we all agree that Mr. Dewan Sharar's paper, apart from anything else, is most delightfully written and that the case he has put before us has been a very powerful one for the development of the cinema in India.

Its importance has been considerably augmented by the professional opinions which he has managed to extract from the three big men of the film industry in London, combined with a very straight-from-the-shoulder criticism by Mr. Dawson who has had some practical experience of the cinema in India. It is a most useful paper, and I think it might with advantage be brought to the notice of the new Provincial Governments to see what help they can give in the matter.

As to our Chairman, we almost look on him as a regular attendant at the meetings of the East India Association. If he is not in the Chair, he is in the audience, and we are very grateful to him that in spite of all his many preoccupations as Under-Secretary of State for India, he can spare the time to come to our deliberations.

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INDIA AND QUEEN VICTORIA

By Dr. Collin C. Davies
(Reader in Indian History, University of Oxford.)

In striking contrast to her immediate predecessors, Queen Victoria accepted her great inheritance as a sacred trust. Of all her possessions India appealed most to her imagination, and her interest in its affairs grew out of a natural and conscientious desire to ensure that the position of her Empire should not in any way be impaired in the eyes of the world. Possessed of great physical and mental energy, she applied herself to the work of government with unremitting perseverance, and, early or late, she was to be found toiling at her desk laboriously studying every detail of administration. In grave crises her undaunted spirit triumphed over all obstacles; and, when her ministers and advisers seemed to lose heart or grow weary, she infused into them something of her own courage and energy.

For the first twenty years of her reign British India was under the rule of the East India Company, though, since the days of the Younger Pitt, the Company had shared sovereignty with the Board of Control. Her Majesty's reign opened with that melancholy piece of folly, the First Afghan War, the responsibility for which must be shared between Lord Auckland and the Board of Control. The conquest of Sind by Sir Charles Napier in 1843, and the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, by advancing the British administrative boundary across the Indus made it coterminous with the territories of the independent Pathan and Baluch tribes of the North-West Frontier; brought the British into closer contact with the Amir of Afghanistan, or, as he was termed in those days, the Amir of Kabul; and eventually led to complications with Russia in Central Asia. British India had now attained its natural limits, for on the north-west the political and geographical frontiers roughly coincided.

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The India of the Company perished in the conflagration of the Mutiny: from its ashes rose, Phœnix-like, the India of the Queen. At first this country's foreign relations were determined by European responsibilities, the legacy of the gigantic struggle with Napoleon, but in the years that followed the security of India became an increasingly important factor influencing British foreign policy. As far as India was concerned her reign has been aptly described as one of conquest, consolidation, and conciliation. It witnessed a centralization under the Crown made possible by the rapid development of communications after 1858. It also witnessed the fixed resolve of educated Indians to secure a larger share in the government of their country. Perhaps it would not be far short of the truth to assert that the most precious legacies of the Victorian era were the legal codes.

Lord Melbourne, Baron Stockmar, King Leopold, and the Prince Consort undoubtedly influenced the Queen in the beginning of her reign; and it would be entirely erroneous to make any attempt to minimize the influence of her beloved consort, for the systematic organization of the business brought to her notice was one of his greatest achievements. Even after his death she never seriously attempted to overstep the rôle of influential counsellor which he had mapped out for her. Indeed, he truly described himself as "the husband of the Queen, the tutor of the royal children, the private secretary of the Sovereign, and her permanent minister." The real personal influence of the Queen therefore dates from 1861, for from this time onwards, if the editors have not garbled or judiciously pruned her letters, we notice the growth of a more independent attitude. Where formerly independence had been foreign to her nature, and where her opinions had often been merely the echoes of her advisers, she now pertinaciously pressed her own opinions on the notice of her ministers. The most casual reader of her voluminous correspondence would not doubt the genuineness of her interest; and, in a person of her exalted position, interest rapidly merged into influence. The power she possessed can only be fully realized when it is remembered that none of her ministers exercised supreme responsibility for more than six consecutive years,

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whereas the Queen was never out of office. Mr. Gladstone was well aware of this when he said:

"The acts, the wishes, the example of the Sovereign in this country are a real power. An immense reverence and a tender affection await upon the person of the one permanent and ever faithful Guardian of the fundamental conditions of the Constitution. . . . Parliaments and Ministers pass, but she abides in lifelong duty; and she is to them as the oak in the forest is to the annual harvest in the field."

The Proclamation of 1858

The assumption of direct government by the Crown after the Mutiny was the occasion for a Royal Proclamation, since it was realized that something more than an Act of Parliament was required to make the new Constitution acceptable to the princes and peoples of India. The draft proclamation, which was the work of Lord Stanley, asserted the power of Britain with needless brusqueness; it was lacking in imagination; and failed to emphasize the religious character of the Sovereign. It did not therefore meet with the approval of the Queen, who was determined that it should clearly set forth her personal interest in the welfare of her Indian subjects. Never was the influence of the Crown under Victoria used to greater advantage. She reminded Lord Derby, the Prime Minister, that it was a female sovereign who spoke to more than a hundred million Indian subjects on assuming direct control over them at the close of a bloody struggle. Since the peoples of India were as deeply attached to their religious beliefs and customs as she was to her own, she insisted that it should be clearly laid down that they were to be protected in the exercise of their religious observances. The proclamation was to breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration. Very wisely Lord Derby recast the proclamation in accordance with her wishes.

"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and

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we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure."

To the peoples of India the Crown gave an assurance that neither race nor religion should debar them from employment in the government of the country. The actual wording of the declaration was that

"so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge."

Henceforth fitness was to be the criterion of eligibility. But the phrase "so far as may be" was open to many interpretations and partook of the nature of a safeguard, which more than forty years later Lord Curzon utilized in argument in his Legislature. To the princes, the Crown relinquished the right, recently enforced by Dalhousie, of resuming their territories on the failure of natural heirs. To all her Indian subjects the Queen proclaimed her deep personal concern in their welfare.

"In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward."

It is sometimes pointed out that certain of these pledges had been made in 1833, but it should be remembered that the Mutiny had left bitter memories in its wake. That these pledges were reiterated in 1858 is a clear proof of the statesmanship and foresight behind this august proclamation. The hour of victory was not to be the occasion for repressive legislation. If possible, no remembrance of past wrongs was to embitter relations between the two peoples in the future. From this date the development of India's national aspirations begins, for educated Indians undoubtedly took this proclamation seriously. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, speaking at Birmingham on January 31 last, testified to the strength of feeling with which even to this day the proclamation is entertained by Indians. At the Round Table Conference there were few passages quoted with more authority than those parts of the proclamation for which Queen Victoria had been directly responsible. Indeed, nothing is more marked than the persistence with which in all political argument by Indians,

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certainly up to 1919, the proclamation was quoted and the demand made that effect should be given to it. The sincerity of the Queen is apparent in one of her earliest letters to Lord Canning.

"It is a source of great satisfaction and pride to her to feel herself in direct communication with that enormous Empire which is so bright a jewel of her Crown, and which she would wish to see happy, contented and peaceful. May the publication of her Proclamation be the beginning of a new era, and may it draw a veil over the sad and bloody past!"

The Queen and the Services

One of the most important questions after the Mutiny was the reorganization of the military forces in India. Lord Canning, the Viceroy, favoured a system, advocated many years before by Sir Thomas Munro, of a local European force enlisted for permanent service in India. This, it was argued, would be more economical and more fully at the disposal of the Government of India. Canning's proposal was supported by certain members of the India Council, who, taking the view most favourable to their own power and patronage, submitted an elaborate minute to the Queen in which the expediency was maintained of leaving the India Council to act upon "the long-established rules" of their predecessors at India House. The Prince Consort, who undoubtedly had great influence over the Queen at this time, pointed out in a well-argued memorandum that this appeal would have come with more effect if the years 1857 and 1858 had not afforded ample proof of the melancholy results of the old system. The Queen announced to Lord Derby her firm determination not to sanction the creation of a British force distinct from what was then known as the army of the Crown, for it would be dangerous to the retention of India, especially in times of emergency. Moreover the evils of a divided control had already revealed themselves and had made it necessary to merge the powers of the Company in the Crown. Although Lord Derby threatened to resign, the Queen eventually gained the day and the British forces in India were amalgamated with the home army under the nominal control of the Crown. The infantry became regiments of the line; and the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Artillery, and

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the corresponding corps of Indian Engineers, were amalgamated with the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers. Queen Victoria therefore played an important part in ensuring that the Indian army should be an imperial force and not a local militia.

We have seen how tenacious the Queen was of the royal prerogative and how she was always on her guard lest it should be refined away by legislative enactments. She considered the introduction of competitive examinations for appointments in the Indian Civil Service as cancelling the Crown's power of nomination to posts which carried with them a delegation of royal authority. On this important point she had to admit defeat. She once more reverted to it in 1891, when she recommended that appointments to the Indian Civil Service should not be confined to successful competitors in an examination. Her views on this subject, which did not prove acceptable to her ministers, can be read in her published letters. In Lord Lansdowne's opinion her pronouncement on the Manipur outrage was an unfounded criticism of British residents, and it was thought that she had been influenced by her Indian munshi, Abdul Karim, who was in constant attendance upon her.

"You may assure Her Majesty" [wrote the Viceroy to Lord Cross] "that I am as anxious as she can be to place in charge of the native states men who are conciliatory and tactful, as well as firm. . . . I regret that Her Majesty should have formed what seemed to me an unjust opinion of our Residents as a class, and I think that she should be cautioned against accepting *ex parte* statements upon this subject."

These views were shared by Lord Cross.

Queen Victoria fully realized the value of pageantry and ceremonial; and her wish that the ceremonial of Government House should be observed to the utmost was loyally, if not excessively, carried out by Lord Curzon, the last of the Victorian Viceroys. She played an important part in the introduction of an official uniform for members of the Indian Civil Service. The question was first mooted, in 1861, by the Lord Chamberlain, who intimated to the Secretary of State Her Majesty's commands that

"information and suggestions should be obtained from the Government of India with a view to the establishment there of a Civil Service uniform according to the system lately adopted in Her Majesty's Colonial Service."

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But the Council of India did not see their way clear to imposing this expense on the members of the Indian Civil Service. Although it was not until 1899 that an official uniform was prescribed, the question was not held in abeyance during the whole of this time, for it was raised on several occasions, usually by the Viceroy of the time. The last occasion on which the question was raised by a Viceroy prior to 1899 was under Lord Lytton in 1879. Lord Lytton pointed out to Her Majesty that there was no check upon the sartorial fancies of the Indian Civil Service, for any sort of uniform was worn at the viceregal levees and dinners. Official functions must have resembled a fancy dress ball, for every variety of private dress was worn, some favouring trousers, others, more elegant, venturing on knee-breeches. The ladies added to this incongruous and undignified display by attending the drawing-rooms "some," as Lytton writes, "in trains, others in long, others in short dresses." The question, as we have seen, was not finally settled until 1899. In 1902, King Edward VII. permitted the Indian Civil Service to wear their uniform at Court functions in this country.

From the beginning of her reign, the Queen insisted that the granting of honours was part of the royal prerogative, and objected to the powers exercised by the East India Company. In her opinion it was not advisable to maintain two fountains of honour in the realm; and, during the Second Sikh War, she suggested that the Company should merely send a sword to Major Herbert Edwardes as an appreciation of his services. "The highest dignities and titles ought to proceed directly from the Crown at the Viceroy's recommendation" was her reply to Canning's suggestion that Indian orders should be at the direct disposal of the Queen's representative. Sir Charles Wood's query whether letters of thanks to two hundred Indian civilians who had not been thought deserving of the honour of C.B. should run in her name or in that of the Government called forth a characteristic reply. Since the C.B. came directly from the Sovereign, so should the thanks, for the civil servants were the Queen's servants and not the servants of the Government. By way of completing ceremonially the connection between the Crown and India she

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recommended the establishment of a new order, the Star of India, as a reward for those Indian princes who were loyal to her rule and for Indian officials who rendered conspicuous service. The first ceremony took place at Windsor Castle on November 1, 1861, when the Maharaja Dhuleep Singh, Lord Clyde, Sir John Lawrence, General Pollock, and Lord Harris were invested with the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. On her assumption of the title of Empress a new Order of the Indian Empire was created and a new Imperial Order of the Crown of India was established as a decoration for ladies whose position and work for Government called for recognition.

Conception of Her Duties

The reading of history was one of Queen Victoria's greatest delights, and there could have been no more fitting preparation for the great rôle she was to play. The year before her accession we find her reading Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, which she considered of great interest but at the same time expressed the opinion that it would be well to draw a veil over certain episodes. This was a shrewd judgment, for Malcolm's devotion to his idol was a love passing the love of biographers. Nothing strikes the reader of her letters more than the diligent care with which she applied herself to her duties as a monarch. From the very first she took the keenest pleasure in filing and indexing the correspondence addressed to her. Many volumes of letters published and unpublished bear witness to the patience with which she kept herself informed of the minutest details. India was ever in her thoughts, and as her Empire expanded she felt with an increasing depth the anxieties and responsibilities inseparable from her position as Empress.

As far back as 1844 there are indications that she was not to be trifled with, for she begged Lord Aberdeen to send the despatches from the Foreign Office a little sooner as drafts had reached her in some cases a week or a fortnight after they had actually been sent abroad. She insisted that the practice of the India Office should conform to that of the Foreign Office and gave orders that copies or a précis of the minutes of the Council were to be regu-

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larly transmitted to her. Towards the end of her reign she drew Lord George Hamilton's attention to these minutes, which contained so much unnecessary information that she was unable to form an accurate opinion on Indian affairs. Since these minutes were merely a formal record of the Council's proceedings, it is astonishing that the system was tolerated almost throughout her reign.

We have it on record that there was not a single proposition relating to the reorganization of the military forces in India after the Mutiny which was not laid before her and discussed before any decision was arrived at by her ministers. She allowed no detail to escape her and strongly resented the attitude of Lord Stanley, who as Secretary of State for India was somewhat lax in his correspondence with her. In these early days no promotion above the rank of colonel was made without a written explanation to the Queen; and in all questions of honours and appointments she took great care to secure the selection of the right man. Ministerial recommendations were never allowed to pass without the closest scrutiny, and she frequently raised objections which were sustained as valid.

When Lord Ellenborough was approached to accept the Governor-Generalship he feared that his health would not be equal to the unremitting and laborious duties which would devolve upon him. Neither was he by any means anxious to go to India, since it would have meant forfeiting a lucrative appointment of £7,500 a year. But, when Peel showed Ellenborough the Queen's letter, in which she expressed the opinion that he was the fittest person for that difficult position, he decided to accept. After Dalhousie's resignation she expressed her astonishment that the name of his successor had not been brought to her notice until all official steps had been taken. When Mr. Vernon Smith referred to the right of the Directors of the East India Company to nominate a Governor-General subject to the approval of the Crown, she readily acquitted him of any intentional disrespect but regretted that no opportunity had been afforded her of discussing this important question before the intention to recommend Lord Canning had become known to all concerned. She immediately

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protested when an attempt was made by the Opposition to cancel Lord Mayo's appointment, even if he should have sailed, for she felt that the recall of her representative would weaken her authority in India. It will be remembered that a precedent existed in the case of Lord Heytesbury, who had been removed to make way for Lord Auckland, but Heytesbury was merely a Governor-General of the Company, whereas Mayo was the Viceroy of his Sovereign.

Apparently it was the Queen who first suggested to Lord Salisbury the name of Lord Lansdowne as successor to Lord Dufferin. Again, had she been able to influence Mr. Gladstone in 1893, Lord Elgin would never have proceeded to India as Viceroy. These examples of her interest and influence could be multiplied. The Queen was loyally served by her Viceroys throughout her long reign. They laboured steadfastly to carry out her behests and she stimulated and encouraged them by letters of tender sympathy for the people committed to their care. Lord Curzon, for example, received letters from her in her own hand every two or three weeks.

During the Mutiny the Queen considered that her ministers had failed to grasp the gravity of the situation and that they were not taking military precautions adequate to the emergency. Palmerston resented this advice and wrote with unbecoming sarcasm how fortunate it was for him that she was not on the Opposition side of the House of Commons. But Palmerston was wrong and the Queen was right, and it was due to the direct action of the Sovereign that reinforcements were poured into India at this critical juncture. Lord Canning in his policy of conciliation had no stronger supporter than his Queen, for she felt no hatred, and her sole desire was to see her Indian subjects contented. She refused to countenance reprisals at any time and noted with pleasure in 1867 that the barbarous suggestion of the Commissioner in British Burma to burn the village of Malacca in revenge for the massacre of a ship's company had been vetoed. At the same time she expressed her fear that British policy was not based on Christian principles. "It is not the first time," she wrote, "the Queen has lamented this tendency on the part of Englishmen in the East."

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Because of her staunch support of his Afghan policy Lytton was prompted to write:

"She is really a better Englishman than any of her subjects, and never falls short in a national crisis, when the interests and honour of her empire are at stake."

We therefore find her during the first months of Mr. Gladstone's second administration urging him to press the war to a successful conclusion, for she feared that after the defeat at Maiwand, adequate efforts would not be made to retrieve the disaster, and she proved her anxiety by inspecting the troopship *Jumna*, which was proceeding to India with reinforcements.

Social Relations

She drew Lord Northbrook's attention to the great importance of encouraging cordial relations between Englishmen and Indians. Apparently there was at the time some need for this reminder. There were in those days great difficulties militating against freedom of social intercourse. Caste prejudices and the seclusion of women played their part, and the memory of the Mutiny still rankled in the bosoms of both Englishmen and Indians. It will be remembered that it was the Prince of Wales who wrote to the Queen protesting against the attitude of certain English officials, especially those in the Indian States. When an English barrister practising at Agra by ill-treatment caused the death of an Indian groom, for which crime he was merely fined fifty rupees, Lord Lytton, with the consent of his Council, published a minute expressing his condemnation of the inadequacy of the penalty which met with the full approval of the Queen.

There can be no doubt that her sympathy with the sufferings of her Indian subjects was genuine. During the famine of 1874 Lord Northbrook received frequent communications expressing her deep sympathy with the people and her earnest hope that adequate measures would be taken to remedy this dreadful calamity. She was also greatly grieved when accounts reached her of the famine in Bengal during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton.

It was only natural that a female sovereign should take a special

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interest in the welfare of Indian women. Before Lady Dufferin's departure from England the Queen had spoken earnestly to her on the question of endeavouring to relieve the sufferings, in sickness and child-bearing, of the women of India. Before she took this step there had been sporadic attempts to provide hospitals; yet, taking India as a whole, there was a lamentable lack of such services and great need of effective organization. On her arrival in India Lady Dufferin's efforts resulted in the formation of an association at Simla under the name of "The National Association for supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India," of which the Queen became the Royal Patron. This was the origin of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund, which has proved a priceless boon to millions of Indian women and which really owed its inception to Queen Victoria. It is interesting to note that Lady Dufferin lived to take part in the celebration in London of the Golden Jubilee of her fund.

The Queen, as is well known, was no supporter of what she termed the "mad, wicked folly of Women's Rights." "God created men and women different," so runs a passage in one of her letters, "then let them remain each in their own position." She did not therefore believe that Indian women should be "over-educated," for it might lead to their reading objectionable European literature, or to the imitation of that growing freedom of manner which she deplored in Western women.

The Queen and the Indian Princes

From her accession the Queen had regarded the Company's government as an anomaly and always encouraged her Governors-General to correspond directly with her. The assumption of direct control by the Crown was welcomed by the Indian princes, for there was a vast difference in their eyes between a Governor-General acting in the name of a commercial corporation like the East India Company and a Viceroy who acted and spoke in the name of the Queen. A fresh emphasis was therefore laid on the duty of loyalty to the Sovereign, which was an express condition attached by Lord Canning to the grant of the right of adoption of heirs. So far as the princes were concerned nothing was more

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marked in the years that followed than the growth of a devoted loyalty to the person of the Crown.

There are indications that the Queen desired to have disputes between the princes and the Government of India settled by some form of judicial tribunal, for, in 1859, we find her asking the Secretary of State for India whether some procedure could not be devised for dealing in a more judicial manner with cases in which a State was threatened with sequestration, in order to "secure the Queen from acts being done in her name which might not be entirely justifiable, morally as well as legally." But, despite the efforts of Sir Charles Wood, nothing was done at the time.

Her acceptance of the imperial dignity was greeted with enthusiasm by the princes, sixty-three of whom (including our honoured Chairman today) were present at the imposing durbar of January 1, 1877, when Lord Lytton announced her assumption of the title of Empress. Her willingness to receive Indian princes was another trait which won for her their affection and esteem. She was deeply interested in the affairs of Prince Dhuleep Singh, the son of Ranjit Singh, and she pleaded with Lord Dalhousie on behalf of Prince Ghulam Muhammad, the last surviving son of the once dreaded Tipu Sultan. Her special interest in the Indian States continued to the end of her reign, and almost her last act was to approve of Lord Curzon's scheme for recruiting an Imperial Cadet Corps from the Indian aristocracy.

The Crown and India

The earliest proposal that the Queen should assume the title of Empress came from Lord Ellenborough, who in January, 1843, suggested that the princes and chiefs of India would be proud of their position as the feudatories of an empress. Ellenborough further contemplated the conversion of the Mughal palace at Delhi into a fortress and residence for the Governor-General when in the Upper Provinces. This suggestion, coming as it did before the Mutiny when there was still a descendant of the Great Mughals at Delhi, would have meant inducing the Delhi family to resign their title, for it would have been incongruous to have attempted to reconcile the Mughal title of *Padishah Ghazi* with

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that of *Fidei Defensor*. The suggestion that the Queen should assume the title of Empress of India was also made in 1858 and had much to commend it, for it would have been natural for the Queen to have claimed the same supremacy as had formerly been vested in the Mughal Emperor. She always secretly hankered after this title and, in 1873, approached the India Office, but nothing came of it. It seems probable that she was led to take this step by re-reading Ellenborough's suggestion when Lord Colchester asked for leave to publish his father's correspondence with Her Majesty. In 1876 the proposal was once more revived at her suggestion by Disraeli, who realized that it was a necessary step to strengthen the bond between Britain and India. Disraeli assured the House of Commons that the new title would only be employed in India as *Kaisar-i-Hind*, but, despite his assurances, it was not long before the Queen signed herself "Victoria R. and I." in English documents of State; and, in 1893, the words "Ind.[iæ] Imp.[eratrix]" were engraved on the British coinage.

In the seventies of the last century Russophobia became even stronger than it had been in the thirties, for Russia was no longer the distant power she had been in the days of Lord Auckland. It was this Russian advance across the steppes of Central Asia which made the assumption of the new title peculiarly appropriate, for it declared to the whole world that she was the personal head of a great Asiatic Empire, a position which could never with honour be abandoned. It was an announcement to the Indian world that Britain was prepared to uphold and protect her Empire in India. Two years later, when there were rumours of war with Russia, Lord Lytton was able to report that there had been a remarkable demonstration of loyalty on the part of the Indian princes, who had been anxious to place their troops at the Queen's disposal. Some of the opposition to the Royal Titles Bill was caused by Disraeli's neglect to consult the Liberal leaders as had been the custom in the past in order to minimize controversy over matters affecting the dignity of the Crown. Otherwise it is difficult to sympathize with the criticism which the proposal provoked. Disraeli justified his policy in the following words:

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"It is only by the amplification of titles that you can often touch and satisfy the imagination of nations; and that is an element which governments must not despise."

In the first half of Victoria's reign neither the British people nor those in authority over them appear to have been enthusiastic about their overseas Empire. But the last years of her reign saw the growth of a strong imperialist sentiment and the Jubilee celebrations of 1887 and 1897 were primarily imperial. A striking example of the Queen's attachment to India was the selection in 1887 of two Indians as personal attendants, one of whom was appointed her munshi to instruct her in Hindustani.

Nowhere does the monarchy play a more important part than in the sphere of imperial relations. Many are the forces which bind the Empire together. Self-interest, weakness and fear of foreign aggression, equality of status amongst the component parts or the knowledge that such a pledge has been given, community of interests and ideas, all play their part. But the most vital link of Empire is the person of the Sovereign and the Crown. Otherwise the centrifugal tendencies in this heterogeneous Empire of ours, comprising different nations and races, divided by space and civilization, by religion and language, would be too strong. Moreover, without the Crown it would be necessary to formulate definitely the relations between the various parts. Loyalty to the ruler is a deep-rooted Indian characteristic, and any attempt to boycott the Coronation ceremonies in India would not only be a gesture entirely alien to the traditional courtesy ingrained in the Indian character, but it would be at variance with Indian regard for kingship throughout the ages. Until the reign of Victoria no prince of the Royal Family had ever set foot in India; and the growth of a sentiment of personal loyalty was in no small measure due to the gracious way in which the Queen and her sons fulfilled the promises she had made to her Indian subjects in 1858. She never saw India, but a knowledge of her sympathy with its peoples swiftly spread throughout the length and breadth of that great sub-continent, and even in her lifetime she became almost a legendary figure in the villages. Indeed, this personal bond

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between India and the Throne may be found, "when other supports crumble, to provide a rock of salvation."

Queen Victoria died on January 22, 1901, at the age of eighty-one. Her reign had lasted sixty-three years and seven months, and was only exceeded in European history by that of Louis XIV. who reigned for seventy-one years. Remarkable as were the achievements of the Victorian era in this country, they differed in degree rather than in kind from what had been done in the past. The progress of India and the consolidation of three hundred millions of peoples into a great and peaceful Empire was unique in the history of the world. Though never privileged to visit her Indian Empire, Queen Victoria somehow understood its people intuitively and her sympathy conquered distance. It was therefore natural that when she died all India should mourn, for she had always been thinking of her Indian subjects, trying to learn their language, sympathizing in their sorrows, and inspiring her Viceroys and officials. All these things the peoples of India remembered. But transcending everything was the simple love of millions for the royal widow who had reigned over them so long, for her fidelity to the memory of her consort struck a particular chord of sympathy in the hearts of all Hindus. Everywhere men realized that a great Queen and Empress and a woman of unassailable rectitude had departed from their midst.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at India House, Aldwych, W.C. 2 (by kind courtesy of the High Commissioner for India), when a paper entitled "India and Queen Victoria" was read by Dr. Collin C. Davies. H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., was in the chair. Some two hundred and fifty members and friends attended the meeting and were subsequently entertained to tea by the High Commissioner.

At the conclusion of the paper H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda said:

My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen: We cannot help but admire the manner in which Dr. Davies has treated his subject. He has marshalled his facts in a masterly manner and presented them to us easily and clearly. In certain expressions of opinion one may differ from him, but that, however, is not a matter with which we are concerned this afternoon. We are all agreed that Dr. Davies deserves the utmost thanks from all of us for an excellent lecture.

My personal contact with the British Royal Family dates back for nearly 62 years, but the contact of my family is still older. That began with the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to India, when one of my predecesssors had the pleasure of meeting him in Bombay. I remember as a small boy hearing the story from various sources of how the Duke of Edinburgh was received in Bombay and of all the ceremonial that had to be gone through. This was, however, before I came into existence.

My first contact with the Royal Family was when the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII) visited Bombay in November, 1875. I was only a boy of 12, but I still have vivid recollections of the brilliant spectacle and the scenes I witnessed there. I remember, for example, how the Prince of Wales disembarked from the steamer and made his way through a vast crowd of spectators. I remember, too, how he was met by the Viceroy and many high officials in their resplendent uniforms. Several Indian Princes dressed in their colourful clothes, turbans and jewels, were standing by the side of the Viceroy gazing at the spectacle and anxiously waiting to welcome His Royal Highness. I remember also some of the disputes that arose about precedence and how they were settled.

Shortly after I first met His Royal Highness in Bombay, he paid me a visit in my house there and gave me some very nice presents, ornaments, watches, snuff-boxes and the like. In accordance with custom I gave presents in return. After a few days' stay in Bombay the Prince decided that he would like to visit Baroda, and we had to hasten back to do our utmost to make arrangements befitting his position. It was not altogether easy, for at that time conditions in India were very different from what they are today. We were not then so much in touch as now with European life and its requirements. However, the officers in charge did their utmost. One thing certainly satisfied His Royal Highness and that was the shikar, pig-sticking and other sport we were able to provide him with.

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After that I was present at the Delhi Durbar on January 1, 1877, when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. That, too, I remember perfectly well, and I can still picture the different Princes and dignitaries, the lovely jewels, beautiful brocades and other types of dresses that the Indian Princes wore. There were many fine soldiers, well built and with stalwart figures. It seems to me that there has been a great change in the physique of the Indian peoples since that day. Whether that is a fact and if so to what it is due, my friend Field Marshal Sir William Birdwood, who is present today, will know better than I.

I can remember the daïs where the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, was seated, and where he stood to read the Proclamation to the Indian Princes. I can remember his face, the manner in which he read the Proclamation, and the answer which was given in a few words by the Maharaja of Gwalior. The then Nizam of Hyderabad, the then Maharaja of Mysore and I, were boys looking on as mere spectators. We all felt that it was a great occasion, though I am afraid we did not understand very much of its significance.

The third occasion when I came in contact with the Royal Family was on my first visit to Europe. That was in 1887, after I had been ailing for some years from nerves. My people did not understand what was the matter with me. It was the then Surgeon-General of the Bombay Presidency who advised me to have a complete change and rest. My people could not understand the meaning of that advice or why I required a change of scene. When the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated I was in Venice. I was well aware of the importance of the occasion and was anxious to go to London, but Mr. Elliot, my tutor, suggested that it would not be wise for me in view of my indifferent health to undertake such an arduous task as a journey to London and participation in the rejoicings.

It was thus not until after the Jubilee festivities that I went to London and paid my homage to Her Majesty, being invited to stay both at Windsor Castle and her favourite Osborne. I have a vivid memory of Her Majesty's appearance and the gracious manner in which she received my wife and myself and other members of my party. Her manner was cordial, simple and straightforward, and it made a great impression on me, certainly greater than the grandeur of her surroundings. We respected Queen Victoria far more, I am sure, for the greatness of her character, for her warm sympathy and for her devotion to duty, than for all the wealth and power she possessed. The last time I saw the Queen was in 1900 just before I sailed for India. She was then getting old, but it came as a great shock when she died a little later and the whole Empire was plunged into mourning.

Dr. Davies has covered the ground so thoroughly that I feel it hardly necessary for me to try and improve upon his treatment of a fascinating subject. He has given us a most interesting address and ample food for thought and on your behalf I thank Dr. Davies for his splendid lecture. I would also like to thank the East India Association for the admirable manner in which they have arranged this representative gathering and for their invitation to me to preside.

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Miss Cornelia Sorabji: Your Highness and fellow-citizens of the Empire founded by the great Queen of whom we have been hearing this afternoon,—I have been asked to tell you a little from out my own experience of what women in India think and have thought in the past of Queen Victoria.

My personal experience goes back a long way, and a good many of my generation will recall as I do the reverence which our mothers taught us for Queen Victoria and for all that she represented. The thing which I chiefly remember is that we got from the Queen an impulse for work. It was a new idea to us in India that women could be in power, that women could work and work successfully, that they could care for others and could translate that care into practical sympathy. . . . That was, I think, what those of us who were literate felt about the Queen. But my recollections go further back still in the things which have been told me by women older than myself, and in particular by Mathaji Maharani Tapaswini, the great orthodox Hindu lady who was in such close touch with the illiterate masses of Indian woman and with the orthodox Indian community for close upon a century. She could remember pre-Mutiny times, and she told me that the general idea in India was that even "John Company" was a kind of Queen Victoria, an old woman who dressed like the red-coated soldiers of the time of the East India Company. After the Proclamation, when Queen Victoria herself began to materialize as a personality, myths and legends gathered around her, and one of these legends, at least, lasts to this day. We have all met it, sometime, somewhere in India—the legend of a goddess. Many of us have seen women go to the statues—and how very inartistic these are many of them!—scattered all over the country, and fall at the feet of Queen Victoria, making petitions. I have seen women praying for sons to the mother of sons. I have seen widows—for after she was widowed there came a new note into their loyalty and affection—I have seen widows praying to her because she knew how they felt. Indeed, it seemed to them that widowhood was not as degrading as they were taught to think it, because the great Queen herself had been widowed, and *she* could not have done anything which was not right in a previous existence so that she had to be punished in the succeeding life by widowhood! So hope came to them.

The last little worshipper I saw in India was a child of seven years of age, who ran up to the statue of Queen Victoria, on the Calcutta Maidan, and fell at its feet, saying, "*Nomo, nomo, nomo!* I bow at your feet, O Great Queen. O great Mem-Sahib goddess, send me a mem-sahib doll." So there is still apparently no petition which Queen Victoria cannot grant!

Queen Victoria's interest in social things made direct contact with the women. I remember the case of a purdah nashin, whom we induced with much trouble to go into the Dufferin Hospital in Calcutta. She said to me, when she came out cured, "Do you know the reason of pain in the world?" I said, "No." She said, "Now I have come here, I know all about it. If there were no pain in the world, there would be no hospitals." She added that she realized that the hospital was founded by Queen Victoria and Lady Dufferin, and her idea was that God was backing the work

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of the Dufferin scheme by sending pain into the world to justify the hospitals!

One could go on telling many stories of the attitude of our women in India towards Queen Victoria; but to sum it all up as shortly as I can, I think what she has given and still gives so largely, both to the illiterate and to the literate, is the feeling of self-respect; she was the first woman whom we knew who did things, and we felt ourselves dignified, and our individual incapacities redeemed by her power and her achievements. Then there was her care for us, the respect she paid to our customs. She also gave that wonderful sympathy which rubs out all differences; while the realization of her own personal attitude towards religion went straight to our hearts, in our religious-minded country, especially as it led to the protection of our own ancient systems.

Finally, she has made us all—has she not?—of one family, and given to the Crown that personal aspect which, as the lecturer has emphasized, makes the King-Emperor the chief cement still between the people of India within the Empire.

The High Commissioner for India: I have the greatest pleasure in adding my humble tribute to what has been said already about the greatest Queen that this country and India have seen.

In the East we are brought up under a feeling which gives us a sort of faith in the divine right of kingship, and it is with that feeling that the Indian public at large worship their rulers, whether they are Indians or whether it is the British Crown. I know that the British people themselves are very proud of the monarchy, and I would not be hurting their feelings if I said that they cannot realize the deep affection and feeling that we in India have for our Royal House, particularly on account of this deep-seated religious belief in our minds that kings and rulers are there by divine right. (Applause.) Of course, this is also a theory of the English Constitution that the king can do no wrong. Your Government consists of the King and the two Houses of Parliament. According to your theory the King stands above all controversy.

When you have this background in your mind regarding the Indian feeling towards the ruler, you can then realize the gratitude of the Indian public towards the great Queen when she brought out that famous Proclamation of hers, which really was a proof of the deep and true love that she had for her Indian subjects.

The lecturer this afternoon has quoted to you certain paragraphs of that great Proclamation, and I think I shall be pardoned if I read to you another two lines, for to us Indians it has always had a great appeal. Here is one sentence: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of the Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind Us to all our other subjects, and those obligations by the blessing of Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil."

How can we fail to be moved by this affectionate pronouncement of the great Queen. You should not be surprised if at various political meetings the Indian political leaders quote this sentence from the Proclamation of

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the great Queen as their guarantee for the future political progress of India.

There is one other sentence which I shall read to you: "When by the blessing of Providence internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is Our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein."

If you look at the history of India since this declaration dispassionately, you cannot but come to the conclusion that the Government in India have honestly to the best of their ability tried to carry out that part of the Proclamation—namely, to administer India in the best interests of the Indian people. We also know that India will be one of the exceptional countries in the world where the administration of a great Empire has been gradually allowed to pass into the hands of the ruled by the rulers without a very red revolution.

I think we feel that at each stage our political progress is based on this rock which was laid down by the great Queen. We feel proud of this Queen as much as anyone in this country. I am sure that by her Proclamation she laid the foundations of an administration in India which is likely to continue the connection between India and England for a very long time to come for the mutual benefit of both those countries. I am very happy and honoured to be associated with you this afternoon in paying homage to a great Queen, who is loved and respected by us as much as she is by the English people in this country.

Lord LAMINGTON: I think the lecturer this afternoon has put very clearly before us new sidelights on Queen Victoria's character. He has emphasized her wonderful industry, her perseverance and her perspicacity. I believe these qualities were greatly due to the simplicity of her bringing-up. It has been said that after her Coronation she went back to the palace and washed her doll. I think that simplicity of character enabled her to face the problems of life with a clear understanding, with no cross-currents to obscure her vision. She looked at things directly and clearly. Her strength of character, as Dr. Davies said in the paper, stood her in good stead after the Prince Consort's death.

There is one instance I might perhaps recall to you, that after the Prince Consort's death one of the Republics in South America—I will not mention which it was—had a very tyrannical and truculent President. On one occasion he had all the different representatives there at a big function, and he had on the daïs with him a lady who was not his wife. Our Minister refused to bow to the lady. The President was very angry, and ordered his people to seize our Minister, put him sitting backwards on a horse and drive him three times round the public Plaza. The occurrence was reported at home, and Queen Victoria said, "Bring me a large map of South America and show me this republic." She then took a blue pencil and ran it through the republic, saying, "As far as this country is concerned that republic ceases to exist."

She showed her intelligence of mind in matters connected with India.

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First of all, when the Mutiny was quelled, we had that Proclamation, which contains passages which form guarantees and pledges of this country's attitude towards India. That was a very great achievement. As we have been told, not only by the lecturer but by His Highness, by Miss Sorabji and by the High Commissioner, she is revered by the people of India to a most remarkable extent. In a very eloquent passage in Dr. Davies' paper, he recounts how intensely the Indian people mourned her.

We have not only to thank the lecturer for his paper, but we are also very grateful to His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda for coming here this afternoon and for presiding over this very illustrious gathering. This Association is very grateful to him. For a number of years he has given us the means of entertaining a company of this character from time to time. His generosity has been unending. We do welcome him this afternoon and are also very grateful to him. I would just like to mention to you a few facts. In duration of rule, His Highness competes with Queen Victoria. Sixty-two years ago the Maharaja Gaekwar succeeded to a State where there had been a great deal of maladministration. Today that State stands as one of the first States in India for good administration. He has done all he could for the depressed classes. I always think the progress of Baroda has been the more difficult when we remember that the State is interlaced with British India. That must make administration more complex. There are, so to speak, islets of both territories scattered about forming many boundaries.

In this connection long ago I tried to find out whether people living in these two Indias had a preference to be in one or the other. I never could find out any distinct preference for one or the other, so it speaks well for the administration in both areas as being satisfactory.

On your behalf I have to thank His Highness for presiding here this afternoon, and also the lecturer. Not only are there these two benefactors to be thanked, but I add another to make up a trinity. The High Commissioner has both given us accommodation and is providing us with tea and other refreshments. Therefore by acclamation I ask you to show your gratitude and thanks to these three illustrious persons by your loud cheers. (Applause.)

Sir Hugh Stephenson, late Governor of Burma, writes:

Listening to the very interesting lecture on Queen Victoria at the India House, I was reminded of an incident that occurred in 1933, a few months after I went to Burma. The Aletawya Sayadaw, Head of the Peace Mission in the Rebellion, wrote and asked if I would receive a deputation. It appeared that the headman of a village in the interior had a dream that the Deputy Commissioner came to visit him in his house. He was confident that such an honour as this portended great good fortune to him, and he got up early in the morning and walked outside his house meditating what this might be. At the root of a tree he saw a fungus growth which he immediately recognized as a portrait of Queen Victoria. I asked him later how he knew as he had hardly ever been out of his village; he replied that he had seen pictures of the great Queen and every Burman knew what she

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was like. He gathered the fungus and took it to the *hpongyi* who recognized that it was a matter of great importance and must be laid before the Sayadaws. The Aletawya Sayadaw with his fellow abbots declared unhesitatingly that it was a portent of vital interest to Burma.

As Burma had been happy and prosperous under the rule of the great Queen so the great Queen by sending her image in this way promised to restore prosperity to Burma after the troubles and adversities she had been through, and that she would accomplish this during the rule of the new Governor who had just arrived. It was therefore fitting and indeed essential that this heaven-sent portrait should be presented with due ceremony to the new Governor. I received the deputation of the Sayadaws, accompanied by the headman, and was duly presented with the miraculous portrait in a silver box. The striking thing about this incident is that no one, from the headman to the Sayadaws, had the slightest doubt as to the authenticity of the portrait. Everyone of them had in their own minds their conception of the great Queen and they recognized unhesitatingly that the fungus reproduced the essentials of her appearance.

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THE EMPIRE DAY AND CORONATION BANQUET

Maharaja of Baroda's Speech

The Association was the senior of the eight Empire societies sharing in the arrangements for the Empire Day and Coronation Banquet held at Grosvenor House on May 24, when the guests numbered over 12,000. The Press described the function as one of the most brilliant and distinguished gatherings of Empire representatives ever assembled. Major-General the Earl of Athlone presided and was accompanied by Princess Alice. The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda was on the right of the Chairman and Mr. Baldwin on his left; and every part of the Empire was represented. The Societies responsible for the arrangements were the East India Association, the Royal Empire Society, the British Empire League, the Victoria League, the Royal African Society, the Overseas League, the School Empire-Tour Committee, and the British Women's Hospitality Committee.

Mr. Baldwin, who made his last public speech as Prime Minister, received a great ovation when he rose to propose the toast of "The British Commonwealth." In the course of his remarks he said:

Never has there been a greater gathering in London or anywhere else than this gathering organized tonight by the Combined Societies. The Dominions, the Colonies, India are all here, and no greater honour could fall to the lot of any man than in such company to propose the toast of "The British Commonwealth." . . .

India is an Empire within an Empire. Within itself it contains Principalities to which the attributes of sovereignty are attached. Nowhere has the conception of kingship deeper roots or more tradition or longer history. Many and powerful as have been the dynasties that have ruled in India, none has held a sway so universal and undisputed as that Monarchy of which every man and woman in this room are the servants.

In that loyalty which is focussed upon the Crown India finds that unity that she has sought so long, and we are now engaged in translating that unity into the terms of Federation, from which we hope and believe will arise an India greater than there has ever yet been. It will be largely her responsibility, but I want her to believe, as I know it, the sincerity of the

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efforts that we have made to help her to this new Constitution. I want her to believe that that sympathy which we feel with her in this great adventure which she is undertaking is a sympathy not confined to Great Britain, but a sympathy which exists in every other part of the Empire.

To speak for India we shall have His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, one of the greatest of ruling Princes in India, who has devoted a long life to the service of his State and of India and whose government has been a model for two generations. He is one of the survivors of that great Durbar of 60 years ago when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. I should like to tell him that I had a letter only last week from an old friend who must be one of the few ladies now alive who were present at that famous Durbar.

After Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, had replied for the Dominions, the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda replied for the Indian Empire. He said that

the high office of Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, which Mr. Baldwin was just relinquishing, had been held in the past by many great men, but by none in whom the Empire had felt more undivided confidence. (Cheers.) Mr. Baldwin took with him from the conflicts of the House of Commons the affection and esteem of the many millions who constituted the peoples of the British Commonwealth. He proceeded: That Commonwealth is no mechanical aggregation of races; it is a living organism, changing and developing as does all life. At the heart of its being are the two moving principles of liberty and of order; and if it is to be true to itself those two principles will always govern the changes and developments which are the unfolding of its innermost nature. Such changes are the necessary accompaniment of human development and the necessary condition of human happiness among the great peoples whom they directly touch.

The happiness of the people—that is the test by which ultimately all forms of government, all Constitutions, come to be judged. Will posterity be able hereafter to point to the new Constitution of India and say, "With all its complexities, with all the imperfections inherent in such a work of human minds, this was, on the whole, a successful attempt to promote human dignity, brotherhood, and happiness in a vast population over a vast area of the earth's surface"? This new Constitution is admittedly a welcome step towards our goal of a free and autonomous unit within the Commonwealth, though more rapid and extensive progress would have been preferred by my countrymen. So we may cherish the hope that India's political development will win from posterity a verdict to that effect. I am certain that those words may already be used concerning the great organization of which India is a part—the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is that hope and that certainty which are the source of the deep pleasure I feel in responding to this toast. (Cheers.)

Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who also replied, said that no man in his generation had contributed more

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to elucidating and making clear all that was best in the spirit of England than Mr. Baldwin. The British Empire was the most wonderful romance in history.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, proposing the health of the Earl of Athlone, said that

he had been interested in reading some of the comments in the foreign Press upon the Coronation celebrations, and he noticed that the outstanding impression left in the minds at any rate of some of the foreign observers was a sense of unity of Empire. That unity, and our common ideals and aspirations, had given to the units of the Empire an influence and a power in the world far greater than any that could have accrued to them if they had not been thus connected and bound together. They were grateful to the societies under whose auspices they were met for the work they were doing in stimulating and fostering that sense of unity, bringing together peoples from all parts and giving them the feeling that when they came to the Mother Country they were as much at home as in their own land. One was also glad to think that they had not forgotten the vital importance of enlisting in the cause of unity the youth of the Empire, to whom Mr. Baldwin had addressed a pressing appeal.

The Earl of Athlone in a brief reply said:

I much appreciate the honour of having been invited to represent the Combined Societies as Chairman on this most interesting occasion. It is not often the fortune and the privilege of unofficial hosts to entertain all the King's Prime Ministers at the same time. Perhaps I may be allowed to borrow an expression from the City and call them "the Big Five." There are also present the Prime Ministers of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Ireland and the Premier of New Brunswick. We welcome some of the Princes of India, Ministers from the Dominions and their colleagues from this country, ex-Ministers, ex-Governors-General, the representatives in England of India, and Governors of Colonies, and may I add what a pleasure it is to see tonight those ladies who have assisted their husbands, many of them, alas, no longer with us, in such posts as Viceroy of India and Governor-General and Governors of our Colonies and Dominions, because I know only too well how much depends upon the love and affection and the help of one's wife in those positions. It is in very truth a most representative gathering of those who count in the Government of, and who are responsible for the maintaining of a good understanding between, the nations of the Commonwealth.

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GARDEN PARTY AT GREAT FOSTERS

Mr. C. G. Hancock, proprietor of *Great Britain and the East*, gave a garden party on Saturday, May 29, 1937, to members of the East India Association and others at Great Fosters, Egham, to meet the Prince and Princess of Berar. He was assisted in receiving the guests by Lord and Lady Hailey. The Prince and Princess were accompanied by Sir Akbar Hydari, President of the Executive Council of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government.

Brilliant sunshine favoured the event and added to the enjoyment derived by 550 guests from participation in a gathering held in one of the most delightful gardens in the south of England. Opportunities for tennis, swimming and other sports abounded. Tea, which was served in the open air, was followed by songs by Miss Helen Raye, formerly of the Opéra Comique.

Brief speech-making followed, under the chairmanship of Lord Hailey, who said: My mission is a short one. It is to introduce to you Sir Akbar Hydari, who has kindly consented to address you this afternoon. I am sure no introduction is needed on my part. In any case I, as a somewhat inconspicuous person, am hardly fitted to introduce one so celebrated, and I should feel bashful as a young man in introducing one who is great in years and in wisdom.

But, although I know the qualification of elder statesman is looked upon with some suspicion in Europe—because the statesman has usually been a politician—yet I will say that there is no one in India who deserves better the name of an elder statesman. (Applause.) Whether because of Sir Akbar's long experience in administrative matters in the great State of Hyderabad—whose Prince we are glad to welcome here today—whether because of that or because of his high skill in expounding constitutional matters, I say there is no one that we would more gladly listen to on the topic to which I understand he will refer—namely, the position of the Indian States and Federation.

The Right Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari: I do not know how I should respond to the invitation that my young guide, philosopher and friend has made this afternoon with regard to a person who is nearing the term of his life. I do not know how I should respond to that invitation, for when I first came and saw these beautiful surroundings I thought that speech would be absolutely out of court and that this was a place more for music and merry-making. But I cannot go without expressing to this company and to the East India Association, which has organized this delightful party, our deep appreciation of the work that this Association has been doing for the last seventy years in providing a common platform for the discussion of questions which are of interest to India and England. I recall that this Association provided the first platform for Dadabhai Naoriji, one of the greatest patriots that India has produced. It was this Association that gave the first platform for that Grand Old Man of India to advocate Indian reform.

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I have also to take this opportunity of tendering our thanks to our most hospitable host, Mr. Hancock, who has been doing such good work with his paper *Great Britain and the East.* I am one of the many Indians who look forward to receiving that excellent paper week by week in India. (Applause.)

Lord Hailey has suggested that I might speak to you on the problem of the Indian States and their connection with constitutional reform. I am afraid I was not prepared for that invitation, and really the subject is so threadbare that after the delightful refreshments that you have had, you will not give much attention to whatever I might have to say.

There is only one thing that I want this afternoon to tell you, and that is that I was privileged the other day, as one of the guests of this Association, to listen to the great speech delivered at the Empire Day Banquet by Mr. Baldwin. No one who was present on the occasion could be unconscious of the unity of the British Empire and of the bonds that knit together, as if it was one great family of nations, the different peoples who form the units of this great Commonwealth—bonds to which the events and spectacles which we have all witnessed in the course of the last few weeks amply testify.

British India and the Indian States have their own special contribution to make to the culture and prosperity of the Empire as a whole. (Applause.) The States look forward to a time at no distant date when, whilst the special features and the unique relationship between them and the Crown are preserved, India will have achieved a position of equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is in a few sentences really the sum total of what we have thought, of what we have tried to achieve, the goal that we have had in view in the labours for Federation of the last seven years. We look to this Association, which has on its rolls statesmen of the type of Lord Hailey, and good friends of the kind we have in our host Mr. Hancock, to help us in the successful achievement of our ideals.

Before I sit down I must express our deep feelings of gratification at the honour conferred on Sir Frank Brown in the recent Coronation List. His name has been long associated with work for India, and we all, Indians and Englishmen alike, would like to tender him our hearty felicitations, and our prayers that he may long live to enjoy this honour and to continue the work for India which he has been doing for so many years past. (Applause.)

I wish now to conclude with an expression of thanks not only on behalf of myself, but of Their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Berar, who are the guests of honour this afternoon, and thereby to indicate the readiness which Hyderabad will always show in playing its great part as the friend and ally of the British Government and in cementing indissolubly the bonds of that great State with the great Empire which has its centre in this country. (Applause.)

Mr. C. G. Hancock: I wish to thank you very much for coming here today and to say what a great pleasure it is to me to have this opportunity of entertaining the Prince and Princess of Berar, many of our Indian visitors

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from overseas and the East India Association. I may say that there is no trouble which is too great for me when India is concerned, because of the great debt that civilization owes to India and because of the many ties of sympathy which bind us to that great country. On the economic side India is still our greatest market and a fruitful field for the investment of capital, and long may it continue to be so. It is always a great pleasure to me to meet people from our great dominion of India because I admire them so much. Perhaps this is partly because I was brought up in a school of thought which took the view that one man was as good as another—in fact, he was very much better! (Laughter.)

Secondly, it is a great pleasure to me because I happen to be associated with the paper *Great Britain and the East*, the aim of which is to interpret what is best in India to the people of this country, and at the same time to interpret what is best in England to the peoples of India and the East generally, and by the East, of course, I mean also the Far East. That is our self-imposed task, and we shall go on with it regardless of whether it pleases or displeases this person or that, confident that in the fulness of time India will be better understood by the people of this country, and the voice of England will be heard throughout the world. Once more, thank you very much for coming today. (Applause.)

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EDUCATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

By the Right Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K.C.S.I.

I consider it a great privilege to be asked to address an influential gathering like this on a subject which has been nearest my heart during the last five years and which has assumed great importance in the present-day life of India. I would also like to express my thanks to Lord Lothian for the very courteous manner in which he has introduced me.

When I went back from England after doing my work on the Round-Table Conference in 1933, I was asked by my own University of Allahabad to deliver what is known there as the Annual Convocation Address, and in the course of that address I raised this question of unemployment in its relation to the system of education that prevailed in India. A few months later I was invited by the Government of the United Provinces, which was then presided over by Sir Malcolm (now Lord) Hailey, to be nominated to a Committee on the subject. I agreed to serve as Chairman of that Committee, particularly because I felt that the question was such that no one had a right to say "No" when he was invited to make his contribution, however small it might be, to the understanding of it, if not to the complete solution of it.

My task was by no means easy, and for ten months my colleagues and I had to enquire in the midst of great difficulties. Our first difficulty was that there were no statistics to be had. The Universities could not furnish us with statistics of unemployment among educated persons. The municipal boards and district boards had no statistics to offer. I then approached the local Governments, with hardly any satisfactory results. And yet, as an Indian living in my own Province, in direct and close touch with educated young men of the various Universities, it was difficult for me to believe that the problem did not exist.

We recorded a large mass of evidence from officials and non-officials, Europeans and Indians, business men, professors, professional men; indeed, people of all classes. And we went round

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the Provinces. We visited the various important educational centres and saw things with our own eyes.

I take the United Provinces as a very good illustration of the acuteness of the problem. In the United Provinces, with a population of 48,000,000 people, you have got five Universities (Allahabad, the oldest, Lucknow, Benares, Aligarh and Agra), and a very large number of secondary schools, and a fairly large number of primary schools. The evidence, particularly that which came from official quarters, left no doubt in my mind that the problem was very acute, and that it would not be right for anyone to assume that it did not exist or to deny its urgency.

Indigent Graduates

Among the witnesses who appeared before my Committee two particularly stand out in my memory. One was the Inspector-General of Police of the United Provinces, Mr. Hollins, who now happens to occupy the same position in the Hyderabad State. The other was Sir William Stampe, the Chief Engineer of the United Provinces, and I may tell you frankly that I look upon him as one of the greatest benefactors of the Province. He has been responsible for the grid system in our Province, which has cost our exchequer a very large amount of money. I do not in the slightest degree regret that so much money should have been spent over it, because it has done an incalculable amount of good to at least twelve of the western districts where the system is in force.

In addition to these two high-placed European officers, there were a number of others who came before my Committee. Their evidence, particularly the evidence of Mr. Hollins, opened the eyes of many of us. Mr. Hollins said that in the course of the last few weeks preceding the day on which he appeared before the Committee he had enrolled a number of graduates as constables. In the United Provinces the constable's salary varies from anything from thirteen to fifteen rupees a month, with an allowance of one or two rupees if he is posted to certain important districts. So that it came to this, that the market value of a graduate, roughly speaking, was something like £1 a month.

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There was evidence from other quarters equally available. I concentrated more upon the official evidence than upon the non-official evidence; not that I distrusted the non-official evidence, not that I was not prepared to attach value to it, but because officials could give men concrete instances from their own experience.

One of the officials of the Government came and told us that in the course of his enquiry at Cawnpore and other places he had come across cases of young graduates selling milk in the streets because they had nothing else to do. These instances were multiplied. I referred to them in the course of the Report which I drafted at that time.

As to the professions, I had some knowledge of the legal profession, of which I have been a member for over forty years. Although it is customary to speak of the legal profession as very prosperous, yet people forget that for five men who make money by the profession there are ninety-five who are starving. Yet the remarkable fact is that these five Universities in the United Provinces attract a very large number of men to legal education. Most of these men join the legal profession not because they feel that there is any urge for joining that profession, or not because they feel sure that there may be a chance of success for them, but because they have nothing else to turn to. So the position of the legal profession is extremely bad.

Engineering

I then examined the figures with regard to civil engineering. We have in the United Provinces two institutions, one the well-known Engineering College at Roorkee, which has acquired a fame which travels beyond India—a very efficient college which has been in existence for nearly eighty years—and the other the Mechanical and Electrical Engineering College attached to the Benares Hindu University.

I should think that the engineering education in India and in my Province is the most expensive education. The evidence given by the officials of the college showed that on an average a student at an engineering college has to spend something like Rs. 130 to

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Rs. 140 a month. Having regard to economic standards in India, nobody could say that that education was very cheap. And yet the Engineering College at Roorkee showed that a very large percentage of their students could never get any appointment anywhere. On the other hand, it was rather an agreeable surprise to me and to the other members of the Committee that the products of the Benares Hindu University in civil and mechanical engineering had done remarkably well. According to the figures supplied to me, something like 70 to 80 per cent. of their men have been fixed up in various jobs either in Government service or in private concerns.

The main source of employment of the Roorkee men was Government service, but recruitment in the building branch had been stopped some ten years before. At that time it was welcomed by public opinion and it was supported by ministers, but unfortunately the result showed that not only had these men not got jobs, but that much of the work which was then efficiently performed had been much neglected.

Another sort of employment for these engineers was the service in the municipal bodies and the local boards. I made very close enquiries as to how many of the municipalities employed qualified engineers and how many were content with ordinary mysteries, as they are called in India. The municipalities were very reluctant to give me any information, notwithstanding repeated attempts. The local government had hardly any figures to give.

Then I made enquiries about each individual municipality and my worst suspicions came to be established as real facts. I believe out of 85 or 86 municipalities, just a few of them employed qualified engineers; the rest are content with *mistris* or unqualified men. Of course, their explanation was that the engineers were expensive things, and they had not the money to spare.

Chemists

Then, coming to other professions, one prominent matter was brought to my notice by a very distinguished professor of chemistry in our University, a man who has acquired by now a

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world-wide fame. He informed us that a good many of the owners of mills, and particularly those who were interested in the sugar industry, came up to him and asked for chemists. He recommended to them a certain number of chemists. These young men were engaged at a certain fixed salary. At the end of the sugar season—which lasts in the United Provinces for about four to five months—they were asked to vacate their jobs.

So that from one branch of occupation to another we made enquiry, and the result was that we came to the conclusion that the position of our young men in the various professions was extremely bad. If you ask me as to how far it is possible for Government to absorb the products of these Universities, my answer is very plain. I have gone into the figures very closely, and it is impossible for me to think that any Government, whether it is foreign or whether it is national, can absorb the entire products of the Universities in the various departments. I should be sorry for India if the entire aim of our young men was to get Government jobs.

Therefore on the question of fact as to whether the problem did exist and as to whether it was acute we had no doubt whatsoever.

The Educational Side

When we came to the question of remedies our trouble began. I will not cover the ground which I have covered in the Report, but I shall very briefly tell you what our conclusions were.

It is true that the essential thing for any Government in India and for Indian society to do is to provide more openings and more avenues for our young men, but in my opinion it would be a great mistake to ignore the educational side of the problem. I do not, frankly speaking, look upon this multiplication of Universities in India as a blessing. It may be that I am very old-fashioned, but I certainly do not think that the Universities or the products of the Universities derive the fullest benefit from their education at the University by staying there for four, five or six years. Do not misunderstand me. I am not suggesting that University education should be discouraged or that we should not spend adequate sums of money on our University education. In-

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deed, if it was in my hands, I would spend more money. But what I am saying is that it is no good to the country or to these young men that there should be an indiscriminate multiplication of indifferent graduates year by year.

It is very customary in my country to say that having regard to the total population the number of graduates is very small, and people compare the position in India with countries in the West. It was from that particular point of view that in 1935 I travelled over some countries of Europe, collected material and went into this problem, and I must express my great sense of obligation to those of my friends in England and other countries of Europe who gave me most valuable material and assistance in investigating this problem. The point to my mind is not whether we are producing a sufficiently large number of graduates in proportion to our population. The point is whether we can make effective use of the number of graduates that we produce year after year.

Why is it that University education in India attracts such a large number of men from classes from which you would not have expected to see any young men, say, twenty-five or thirty years ago? At the present moment the position is that not only those classes who used to send their boys to the Universities do send their boys, but also those who were content to remain on the land, to follow certain avocations which could be remunerative—those too are sending their boys to our Universities.

The reason for that is this: that in the large majority of cases our young men go to the Universities because they look upon the Universities as passports to some careers in Government service. The number of men who go to the Universities for the sake of culture is limited.

Wastage

Again, I should not be understood to run down our Universities. Frankly, I do think that the standards in various Universities have been considerably raised during the last twenty or twenty-five years, and I am prepared to admit that the first-class man of today is much better educated than the first-class man of twenty-five or thirty years ago. But it is not really the first-class

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men who form the backbone of education. It is the second-class or even the third-class men to whom we have to look, and it is when you turn to these second- or third-class men that you find that either they have not sufficient grounding at their schools on which they could build up their careers at the University, or that they were not men who came to the Universities with the object of deriving that benefit, intellectual and moral, which University education is capable of giving. It is a case of wastage.

I think that in the case of many of these men, if there were a proper system of education, which after giving that general education had weaned them away from the ordinary customary education given in schools and Universities and put them on to some vocational or occupational training, they possibly might have done better.

The great trouble about our educational system in the schools has been that it is far too theoretical, far too literary, much too divorced from the practical side. When you come down to primary education, you find that the boy goes to a village school for about five or six years, and after some little time he relapses into the same state of ignorance in which he was when he went to that school. The education which is given to him has no direct relation to his environment, to the life which he lived before he came to the school, and to which he will return when he goes back to his village.

Similarly, when you come to secondary education it again is of a very mechanical character. His head is stuffed with a certain amount of knowledge which he may or may not assimilate, but his character is not developed. He cannot stand on his own legs. There is no such thing as self-reliance or self-dependence. He cannot make very effective use of his hands; he is weak there.

Therefore it was to me a matter of satisfaction when the Government of India issued a resolution, which was followed by a resolution of the local government, in which they suggested that in the secondary schools there should be bifurcation. There may be some controversy as to whether a student should be taken away from the literary education and put to vocational or industrial training in his sixth, seventh or eighth year.

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We had those resolutions before us, and we very thoroughly examined the position, and I was forced to the conclusion, and so were my colleagues, that there must be a stage prescribed when in the case of those boys who were likely to do better with their hands they should be given a more practical education which would equip them for success in life in some vocation or in some profession. In the cases of others who in the opinion of the teachers were qualified to go further up on the ladder, so that they might go ultimately to the University, by all means I would ask you to give them every encouragement.

So that the problem, so far as education is concerned, is a problem first of adjusting the education to the surroundings in the midst of which our boys live; and, secondly, of prescribing a stage in the life of every boy when his parents and his teachers should ask themselves seriously the question whether he is likely to do well by going on to a University, or to do better by remaining out of a University and going into some vocation.

Here again we are aware of the difficulty of the problem, for if you multiply a large number of men who have received technical education, vocational education, industrial education, and who afterwards find themselves stranded—well, the problem becomes still more acute. But it seems to me that there is no one particular remedy which can be applied, and not only will the Governments who are responsible for education have to revise their policy very materially, but also Indian society will have to change its outlook.

Industrial Concerns

So far as Indian society is concerned, I have been compelled to the conclusion that among people who are in a position to help our young men by employing them in various jobs there is absolutely no active desire to render assistance to these young men. I can illustrate that to you. Take, for instance, a large number of landed proprietors in our Province and in other Provinces. There is no reason why they should not employ men who have received some education in agriculture, in estate management and things of that kind, and yet they will not employ them. It may

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be because an educated young man does not suit them. He is not prepared to do those things which an uneducated agent will be prepared to do. I have some positive evidence on that particular point. The experience of those of our young men who have received an education in agricultural colleges and schools has been most disappointing.

Similarly, when you come to trade and business, you find that the old-fashioned business man in Northern India has no use for a young man who has received an education in commerce, trade or business. When I went to Cawnpore, which is a very important business centre, I examined a large number of business men, both European and Indian, and I must say to my regret that the evidence showed to my mind that there was no demand for many of these young men, men who had received training as Bachelors of Commerce, among Indian business men. There were some of them employed by European firms. So far as that is concerned, I must say that I feel very strongly that our own society has still to wake up to its responsibilities.

Government Employment

With regard to Government service the position is this, that you can command the services of any number of graduates at present in my Province for anything between Rs. 15 to Rs. 30 a month. I was talking to two district officers only very recently, and they told me that they had within the last few months employed graduates at salaries of Rs. 11 to Rs. 15 a month—less than £1.

That is the position. If I were responsible for the education of a boy, and if I found that I had to stint myself and to find something like Rs. 50 to Rs. 60, and at the end of five years my boy could only get Rs. 13 to Rs. 15 a month, I would not waste that money on him. That is my own feeling. I consider it a tremendous waste that all this large output of graduates from our Universities should aspire to nothing more than these small and petty jobs, and I can see no reason why we should insist on having graduates as constables or as members of low-paid staffs of other departments. I should be quite content with men who had received a general education, who had received some education

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which qualified them to be of assistance to their immediate superiors, who had been able to build up some sort of character in their schooldays, but I would not waste any money over producing graduates for these small and low-paid appointments in the United Provinces or any other Provinces.

It is for that reason that our Committee recommended that the Government should have their own standards for admission into various departments, but that they must not insist on a person being a graduate, a B.A. or M.A.

The next recommendation we made was that the age of entrance into the various departments of the Government should be reduced, so that young men after receiving their secondary education, which they would be able to complete at the age of sixteen or seventeen, should at once go into those minor jobs, and there should not be the temptation in their way of going to the University and spending their parents' money for five years and at the end then getting the very job which they might have got at an earlier stage.

I will not go into details of the various recommendations, but I will only say this: that while I was carrying on investigations in the United Provinces, I put myself in touch with the various Governments in the country—Bombay, Bengal, Madras—and also with certain Indian States where the problem seemed to me to have arisen and was most acute.

Although I would not be dogmatic about other Provinces, the general conclusion left on my mind after reading the official documents and the unofficial reports which came to me was that the problem was more or less the same nearly everywhere in India. The Bengal Government had attempted to tackle the problem. I wrote to the Ministers, and the Ministers sent me very useful information. I found that they had been able, by spending some money, to fix up something like eight or nine hundred young men. They spent money; it was wholly inadequate; nevertheless they did spend money and held themselves responsible for seeing some progress made.

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Industries and Agriculture

It has been said that the real solution of this problem lies in industrialization of the country. Well, we went also into this problem, and we came to the conclusion that although there was a considerable amount of scope for some of these young men in small industries, village industries, provided they were helped by society, provided they received some practical training, yet it would be wrong in my opinion to assume that the development of heavy-scale industries alone could furnish the completest answer to this problem. It would no doubt absorb men with a technical knowledge, but up to a certain point and not beyond.

On this point I was furnished with some very valuable material by the Government of India, to whom I applied for some information. Therefore it is not my proposition that there should not be industrialization or that we should not take steps to foster heavy industries, but it would be wrong to suppose that by merely promoting heavy industries we would be able effectually to solve this problem.

Similarly, with regard to land, it is sometimes suggested in India, and has been suggested in very high quarters, that we might establish colonies of young men to work as farmers. Something of that sort has been done in the Punjab, and only last December I was invited by Sir Herbert Emerson to address the Punjab University. In the course of the preparation of my speech there I made some enquiries, and I found that the Punjab Government had been to a very great extent successful in establishing colonies of these educated men in different parts of the country; but it would be wrong to assume that what can be done in the Punjab can be done in other Provinces as well.

In the United Provinces there is no land to be had. There is one scheme of colonization. I have examined it. The land is very limited. It is full of malaria, and I doubt very much whether our young men can stand the strain of the life of a farmer in that malarious tract for many years to come. Therefore the solution of the problem will have to vary from Province to Province according to the needs and situation of each particular Province.

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But I should not stake everything upon a simple formula of that character. Therefore the remedies will be various, and I do not think that the most enthusiastic among us could hope to produce results immediately. It would require great patience; the efforts will have to be spread over a series of years; but above everything else it would require money.

The numerous recommendations that were made by my Committee presupposed that the United Provinces Government would be able to find money. Unfortunately our position is none too prosperous; indeed, we are very unhappily situated so far as the financial position is concerned.

Government Grants

At the time when this Report was coming up for discussion by the United Provinces Council, I was told by the United Provinces Government that I must accept a nomination to the Legislative Council for two days, which I did. I was asked to make an appeal to the members of the Legislature for funds, which I did make, and I am happy to tell you that as a result of some bargaining between me and those who were in charge of the finances the Legislature almost unanimously voted new taxes which I asked for.

The condition which I imposed was that the Government of the United Provinces should definitely commit themselves to a policy of action in regard to this matter, and that they must make recurring grants. Accordingly the Legislature gave us Rs. 4½ lakhs, which is like a drop in the ocean. Nevertheless I welcomed it, because it committed the Government to a policy of active assistance in regard to this matter. There was no trouble in raising the fresh taxation.

The important point to note about it was that the Government definitely committed themselves to a recurring grant, and I have no doubt that whichever party be in power, whether it is the Congress party or any other party, this will be one of the big questions which will have to be tackled. I have no doubt whatsoever that money will have to be found, and money must be found.

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The only satisfaction that I have after working over this problem is that to a very large extent the public conscience has been aroused in this matter. The problem is attracting the attention of Governments in the various Provinces and also of Indian society. I am also happy to know that the problem has been taken up by certain Indian States, such as Travancore and Baroda. I am happy to say that my friend Sir Krishnamachari, the Dewan of Baroda, was good enough to take the Report into consideration in his own State, and I believe he did appoint a Committee to go into that matter. I do not know what has been the result, but I could mention other States too who wrote to me about it.

The problem therefore does exist. It is a very acute problem, and if it is neglected it will be fraught with the gravest danger.

I will end by saying what I did say publicly during my two days' membership of the United Provinces Council, that if I was not a man of sixty, but of eighteen, and found that neither my Government nor my society made it possible for me to get two square meals in the day, I should not hesitate to belong to those disruptive movements in India of which you hear so much.

At the present moment Indian political thought is running on very different lines from those on which it used to run, say, five or six years ago. Essentially the problem before India is one of an economic character. The problem of the landlord and the tenant has got to be settled, and it must be settled whatever differences there may be on the question of remedies. Similarly the problem of unemployment among the educated classes has got to be settled, and it must be settled as quickly as possible; because I believe that if this problem is ignored, then it is not merely a danger to Indian government, but to Indian society itself.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING ADDRESS

At a social meeting of the Association at the Hotel Rubens on May 31, 1937, attended by some two hundred members and friends, the Most Hon. the Marquess of Lothian presided and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru lectured on "Education and Unemployment in India." Mr. and Mrs. H. S. L. Polak kindly entertained the company to tea.

In opening the proceedings Lord Lothian said: It is with the very greatest pleasure that I take the Chair for Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru this afternoon. It was my misfortune that I never made his personal acquaintance until the first Round-Table Conference, but my old friend Lord Reading had often told me about him when he was one of the members of his Executive Council, and earlier of perhaps the most brilliant Parliamentary team that ever faced an opposition in the Indian Legislative Assembly, a team that set a standard of Parliamentary debating in India which I venture to say will bear comparison with the most brilliant traditions of the British Parliament, and of that team Sir Tej was one of the most distinguished members.

I often saw him at work during the Round-Table Conference, and then I realized that not only was he a great Parliamentarian and a great advocate, but a great statesman. I do not think perhaps full credit has ever been done to the statesmanlike way and persistent manner in which Sir Tej steered the first Round-Table Conference from the critical decision that the principle of responsible government should be adopted not only at the centre but also in the Provinces in India, the critical decision which some of you may approve of and some of you may not, but which none the less was the root of all the real troubles during that Round-Table Conference.

Then year after year we found him coming back, always polite, always wise, always brilliant in his presentation of his case, but quite inflexible in his fundamental purpose. And therefore there are few men in the world for whom I have either a greater affection or a deeper respect than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

It is with the greatest pleasure that I now call upon him to speak.

(Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru then delivered his address on "Education and Unemployment in India.")

Sir Selwyn Fremantle: I should like to ask Sir Tej whether the real root of the problem of unemployment in the educated classes is not the fact of the small scale on which agriculture is conducted. After all, India is an agricultural country, and is it not the case that if there were a real rehabilitation, a real development of agricultural resources, which might be arranged and which Governments are now attempting to do, would that not make the whole difference to this particular problem?

I am especially referring to co-operation, because through co-operation

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the small-scale industry that agriculture now is can have to a great extent the benefit of large-scale industry. In that application of co-operation and the application of science to industry seems to me to lie the only real hope of more billets for the educated man.

There is one thing I would like to say about the lecture, and that is that in my opinion the boy does not go on from the school to the University in order to get a Government job, but in most cases because he has nothing else to do but to continue his education, and that is the reason why there are so many people at the Universities.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: That point of view was present to my mind, and if Sir Selwyn will look into the Report he will find we have attached considerable importance to agriculture, and also to further expansion of co-operation. But I would not say that that would be the sole or the ultimate remedy which would provide a solution of the problem. It will be very effective no doubt, and it would to a very large extent help our young men, but along with that you will have to provide other remedies too.

Sir Ross Barker: I was Chairman of the Public Service Commission in India for six and a half years, and consequently I saw a great deal of Indians who were seeking entrance to the Public Service.

Is it not part of the answer to the problem to aim at quality rather than quantity at the Indian Universities—that is to say, first to restrict the men, choosing those who will most profit by University education; and, consequently, to ensure that teachers shall not be over-burdened by an excessive number of students who are not able to gain any benefit.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: In point of fact several Universities do exercise discrimination in admitting young men from the schools. I know it for a fact that there are Admission Committees who will not admit in some cases even second-class men, but they generally refuse to admit third-class men.

What has been suggested is that an arbitrary limit shall be fixed for admission into the Universities. For instance, it might be laid down that there should not be more than four or five hundred students in any particular year. I am not in favour of that. If at a lower stage you wean away those men, then the number will automatically be reduced.

As regards the number of teachers, all I can say is that the number of teachers has considerably increased in the Universities. I can tell you that up to fifteen or twenty years ago, when Sir Selwyn Fremantle was Collector at Allahabad, the total number of teachers and professors was probably not more than twenty. Today it is something near one hundred and twenty, and many of these men have received their education at Oxford, Cambridge, or one of the provincial English Universities or one of the Continental Universities. So that the quality of the teachers has undoubtedly improved. Recently, during the last ten or fifteen years, we have introduced a tutorial system in nearly every University. But while I would discourage those students from proceeding to the University who are not likely to make good, I would not set any arbitrary limit.

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Mr. LALKAKA: Sir Tej has said that Indian employers are unwilling to employ educated Indians. Is there not one exception to that? In the development of the sugar industry in India, has there not been a greater employment of educated Indians in engineering, chemistry, and agriculture? They are employed by Indian capitalists in Indian sugar factories run by Indian capital.

Sir TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU: But not in adequate numbers, and they have not been always fairly treated. That was the evidence before my Committee. The unfortunate fact is that so far as the old-fashioned Indian business man is concerned, he has still to learn the value of expert advice and knowledge.

In reply to further questions, Sir TEJ BAHADUR said: So far as the sons of the landed proprietors are concerned, I admit that there is considerable room for education among them, and unfortunately their education has been neglected very much in the past, but I see distinctly a change in the right direction now.

Assuming that the sons of these landed proprietors were to receive agricultural education, yet you have no right to assume that they would be able to go and cultivate their own lands, because the lands are already occupied by tenants, and unless you change the whole land system you cannot hope that these men will go and work on land which does not exist.

There is a whole chapter devoted to medical education in my Report, and the proper solution is this. Most of the medical graduates turned out by medical colleges try to settle down in big places where there are cinemas and all the amenities of modern life. It is no use your saying that the Government should provide grants. As a matter of fact, something like Rs. 70,000 a year is given as a subsidy to qualified young men if they will go and settle down in the small towns and village areas, but the medical men were in my opinion the most disappointing in that respect. They will not leave big towns with their cinemas.

It is no use thinking of the hakeems and vaids today in terms of the last century. There are men with medical degrees which they have obtained either in Indian medical colleges or European who educate these vaids and hakeems in some branches of medicine. They are trained for five years in Benares and Aligarh, and the actual result of the investigation was that these men settled down in village areas and were able to make something like Rs. 56 to Rs. 60 a month, while your qualified medical graduate was starving because he went and settled down in areas where there were very well-established doctors already.

I have gone into this question of medical education as thoroughly as I could having regard to the nature of the evidence.

Sir PHILIP HARTOG: I want to ask Sir Tej one question about the establishment of small industries. When I was in Bengal I made a good many enquiries about the possibility of establishing small tanneries, in view of the fact that Bengal produces more skins than any other part of the world. I was told that the great difficulty was this. One could not get

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capitalists to invest their money in a small industry which would only bring in 8 per cent. or 10 per cent., when they could lend money at a much higher rate of interest.

Perhaps you will allow me just to add one thing which is not a question, and that is to express my deep appreciation of the services which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has rendered, and is rendering, to India by the writing of that splendid Report and by the action which he has taken following it. (Applause.)

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: The days of the moneylender in India are over. There has been legislation with regard to moneylenders both in my province and in the Punjab, and the result of that legislation is that moneylending has become in India a very precarious profession indeed, and it is becoming a thing of the past.

Further, let me tell you from my practical knowledge as a lawyer that when I joined the legal profession some forty years ago, at least eight out of ten cases in my province related to monies lent on mortgages on landed property. Those cases have now become practically extinct. There are other modes of investment now adopted by Indian capitalists.

Therefore I am not very much afraid of there being competition between moneylenders and capitalists, or rather industrialists seeking to invest their money in small industries.

Sir James MacKenna: It gives me great pleasure in the absence of Lord Lamington, our President—who, I am sure you will all be very sorry to hear, is ill in hospital—to propose a somewhat comprehensive vote of thanks.

Before doing so I should like to say how much we appreciate the presence with us this afternoon of our trusted friend, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who, despite the numerous other calls upon his time in this busy season, always seems to be able to drop in to the meetings of the East India Association. He must have listened to this address on "Education and Unemployment in India" with very great pleasure. Indeed, I am sure he has already had Sir Tej's Report very carefully analyzed with a view to measures in his own territory.

This afternoon it is my pleasure to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to our Chairman and to the lecturer. It struck me, with two such fine specimens of Liberalism on the platform, that, however much that political party may be under a cloud both in India and in England, it is very much alive this afternoon in the East India Association.

I cannot call you, sir, as yet an elder statesman, but we all know what you do for the Liberal Party and what you have done for India. We read your speeches in the House of Lords; we hear you on the wireless, and realize that we have a very staunch friend of India in the Marquess of Lothian. (Applause.)

As for Sir Tej, who can fairly be called an elder statesman, it must be some twenty-five years since I first met him in the old Legislative Council in Simla during Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty. You, sir, have referred to his inflexibility. I should add another quality, and that is consistency.

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Throughout his whole career he has stuck to his guns. He has been, like all good Liberals, horribly consistent, even to his own destruction.

Having disposed of the Chairman and the speaker, I am sure you would all wish to give a very hearty vote of thanks now to two other very good friends of the Association—that is, to Mr. and Mrs. Polak, our host and hostess of this afternoon. (Cheers.) We much appreciate such acts of hospitality on the part of members offering us entertainment.

Finally, may I bring in a more domestic matter. This is the first meeting of the Association where we have the opportunity of congratulating our Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, on the honour which His Majesty has conferred upon him. (Loud cheers.) We are all delighted.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to accord this comprehensive vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda, the Chairman, the speaker, Mr. and Mrs. Polak, and to Sir Frank Brown.

Sir Frank Brown, in response to calls for a speech, said: My Lord Chairman, Your Highness, ladies and gentlemen,—I did not expect for one moment to take any part in these proceedings. It is my duty here to get others to speak rather than to speak myself. All I can say is that I am very deeply grateful to you for including me in this vote of thanks, thus turned into a vote of congratulation. I am very proud to serve the East India Association; and I am happy if any work that I have done as Honorary Secretary has contributed in any way to the aim that it has in view: that of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of India. (Applause.)

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RECEPTION TO INDIA'S REPRESENTATIVES AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

THE East India Association and the National Indian Association held a reception at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, on June 11, 1937, to meet the representatives of India at the Imperial Conference and other distinguished visitors.

In the absence in hospital of the President (Lord Lamington), the guests, some 500 in number, were received by Lady Lamington, Lord Goschen, the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, Sir Malcolm Seton (Chairman of the East India Association) and Lady Seton, Sir Selwyn Fremantle (Chairman of the National Indian Association) and Lady Fremantle.

Sir MALCOLM SETON presided at the brief speech-making which followed the serving of refreshments. He said:

We very much regret that Lord Lamington, President of both Associations, is unable to be here today. He has undergone a serious operation, and I am thankful to say that he is doing very well indeed. We think it very kind of Lady Lamington to have come in the circumstances. (Applause.)

I want to explain that this is a joint party of the East India Association and the National Indian Association. Lord Lamington is President of both bodies. The National Indian Association is at present without a home, but it is pursuing the policy which it has pursued for so many years with so much success, of promoting social intercourse between Indians and English, and therefore they have been kind enough to give us substantial financial aid in organizing this party and to join us in getting it up. We owe our gratitude to Sir Selwyn Fremantle, the chairman of the Committee, whom we are glad to see here with Lady Fremantle.

The main purpose of the reception is to welcome the delegates of India to the Imperial Conference. Lord Zetland unfortunately is unable to come, and has written the following letter to the honorary secretary:

"I need hardly say how greatly I regret the fact that an engagement to speak at Oxford prevents me from accepting the hospitality of the East India Association on Friday afternoon. I should indeed have been glad to accompany my colleagues on the Indian delegation to the Imperial Conference to Grosvenor House. My only consolation is that in the persons of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and Sir Zafrullah Khan the delegation will be adequately and most efficiently represented. I have my best wishes for a very successful and enjoyable afternoon."

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Also I am sorry to say that the new Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, Lord Stanley, is prevented by illness from coming today.

Of the Indian representatives it is unnecessary for me to say anything about His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, but there are one or two things that it is a duty and a pleasure to say. One is that it is largely due to His Highness's generosity for a number of years that we have been able to organize our entertainments. In 1932 he was good enough to make a five years' grant to the Society, and he has now very generously renewed the grant for five years more. (Applause.) You will all have followed His Highness's speeches during the Imperial Conference and at the Empire Day Banquet in which this Society participated. We are also very glad to see here his Prime Minister, Sir V. T. Krishnama Chari.

Sir Zafrullah Khan is an Indian statesman, distinguished at the Bar and in public life in the Punjab, and Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council for Railways and Commerce. He took a leading part in the Round-Table Conferences, and I am assured that he has at his fingers' ends the Government of India Act.

Both His Highness and Sir Zafrullah had the honour yesterday of receiving the degree of Doctor of Law at Cambridge, and I think we should wish to congratulate them. Those of us who have not entirely forgotten our Latin admired the graceful language in which the Public Orator greeted His Highness and Sir Zafrullah. I think we ought to have prepared two congratulations in Sanskrit and Arabic respectively for them. (Laughter and cheers.)

We are very glad to welcome also the Nepalese Minister and members of the Special Mission from that country for the Coronation.

Yesterday was marked by the conferring of honorary degrees at Cambridge to the delegates from India, and this morning has been marked by a ceremony which is of great interest to this Society. Our honorary secretary, Sir Frank Brown, received the honour of accolade from His Majesty this morning. (Applause.) I do not know of anything in the Coronation Honours which has given such widespread pleasure and which has been felt to be so thoroughly earned by years of devoted service to India. It is unnecessary for me, and really it would be an impertinence for a comparatively late-comer like myself, to enlarge on the services Sir Frank has done for the East India Association, but until I had the pleasure of becoming his colleague in administering the affairs of the Association, I had not realized the true meaning of the word indefatigable.

We hope very much that His Highness the Gaekwar will be so good as to say a few words to us.

H.H. THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA: The Chairman has referred to us in such an appreciative manner that it would be impossible for me to answer him adequately. It is not the first time that I have been the guest of the East India Association, and for its hospitality I shall always be grateful.

The East India Association and the National Indian Association are doing a great work. It is good that the people of this country and of

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India should mix socially as much as they can and try to understand each other's ways, manners, weaknesses and strength. If this is studied impartially and with an open mind, I am sure the respect of each for the other will be much more than exists today.

The East is said never to move, but the East is changing fast. We are imitating some of your best things, and I think with the adoption of those manners and customs it will be more easy to mix than it has been in the past. Take the question of caste. Let me tell you that many of these old ideas are slowly but gradually disappearing. At my table I have had people of the depressed classes invited to dinner, and all men of different castes including Brahmins come and share the fare. Years ago this would have seemed revolutionary, but now people look upon such intercourse as an everyday thing and a thing that many of them think ought to come. I was some years ago invited by my Muhammadan friends to have a dinner at a mosque. I went with several of my *durbaris* and gentlemen, and none of them refused to come. We had a good dinner, great hospitality and a very hearty reception. That shows that religion does not divide us as much as some people think. The Muhammadan religion has certain principles which any intelligent man will adopt, and in the same way there are certain principles in Hinduism which others also can adopt without the least hesitation. After all, the principles of ethics and love are common to humanity, and if those are properly interpreted and laid before the people, many of those differences of feeling and sentiment will gradually dwindle away, and there will be a bond of friendship and close sympathy.

Sir M. Zafrullah Khan said: The first thing that strikes me is the generous and munificent hospitality that we have been offered this afternoon by the East India Association and the National Indian Association, but then His Highness as well as myself are members of the East India Association, as most of you are, and therefore we are really a family gathered together.

The East India Association is no mere ordinary association. It has long been an institution, and I wonder whether to gentlemen who visit and revisit London, and those of Britain who have been connected with India, London would be the same place if there were no longer an East India Association. The Association has for the last seventy years sought to bring Indians and Britons together in social functions and in functions where they exchange ideas upon different matters that touch the welfare of India and individual relations of India and Britain. It is difficult to estimate how much good has been done in promoting mutual understanding on these matters between India and England through the efforts of the East India Association.

I have known Sir Frank Brown, the very energetic secretary of the East India Association, for now over a quarter of a century, and if you knew how large a part of my age that is, you would be able to guess that we started our relation with each other very early in life. You have already had proof, those of you who have been connected with the East India Association, how persuasive he can be; at any rate his commands are never to

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be denied. This morning, when we met at that very pleasant function, where His Majesty bestowed upon Sir Frank Brown the honour of knighthood for his long and distinguished service in the cause of India, Sir Frank's first question to me was, "Have you received my commands to speak today?" I said, "Yes, but if you will also tell me what I am going to say this afternoon it will make it very much easier for me."

Well, here we are all together, and it is not necessary to say in words what kind of work the East India Association has long been doing and is doing. When I walked into this room it was already fairly full, and Sir Frank gave me no opportunity of walking about and meeting more than the occupants of these two tables. The first person I met was Sir Louis Dane. Each time I come to England my vanity continues to prompt me to remind Sir Louis Dane that as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in 1911 he bestowed several prizes upon me when I was a student at the Government College at Lahore. Of course, it is mostly in these functions of the East India Association that we have met each other in the last few years. Here is an arithmetical problem for you as to the relative ages of Sir Louis and myself. Seven years ago Sir Louis was double my age, and in seven more years he will be more than double my present age.

Then I see Sir Michael O'Dwyer, with whom one had differences in political views during the sittings of the Committee on Indian Reforms, but whom I venture to claim still as a very sincere and fine friend, and I am sure the sentiment is mutual. One used to tremble in one's shoes when he was Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, but when one came in closer contact with him and Lady O'Dwyer, one began to learn how much kindliness there was behind the sternness.

Then I have met Sir Philip and Lady Chetwode. Sir Philip, as you all know, is the very distinguished Commander-in-Chief who has only lately retired from India, and I had the honour to sit with him as a very humble and sincere admirer of his on the Viceroy's Executive Council. I see at another table that very distinguished lawyer and judge the Rt. Hon. Sir Shadi Lal. Then I have had the honour to speak to the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, whose husband was so illustrious and distinguished a Viceroy of India.

But this is only at this end of the room, and if all of you were to tell one another how many contacts you have renewed during the afternoon, you would be able to estimate the work that the East India Association is doing at this time when mutual understanding means so much more than ever it did in the past. I am sure we are extremely grateful to the East India Association and the National Indian Association for providing this opportunity for so many of us to come together and spend an afternoon with one another. (Cheers.)

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PURDAH IN INDIA

By Dr. S. N. A. Jafri, Barrister-at-Law

The literal meaning of "Purdah" is nothing more than "Privacy," a thing which is needed by women in even the most advanced countries. But the system, as practised in India, is perhaps peculiar to India, just as the caste system and untouchability, is something more rigorous than mere privacy. In its extreme form, its characteristic is the seclusion of women within the four walls of the zenana, preventing them from seeing the outer world.

As can well be understood, such restrictions are only feasible among the upper and the upper middle classes. On the other hand, the hard reality of economic necessity makes the observance of these restrictions wellnigh impossible, and hence they have always been free from restrictions in this respect. It may be of interest to note objectively the gradual disappearance of this system. Owing to the impact of Western civilization, our upper classes, including in a general sense the upper middle class, had the first opportunity to come into contact with it, with the result that they yielded to the liberal outlook of Western civilization. Gradually this change in outlook and behaviour spread to the generality of the upper and middle classes as a whole. The Dolis or palanquins gave place to motor-cars and other modern conveyances; also, the Purdah clubs or Purdah parties are symptomatic of this change. An important section of the lower middle class, however, succumbed to this change owing to their economic condition necessitating some sort of additional income from the women of the family to add to that of the men. In short, the adoption of Western culture and the stress of economic forces have been responsible for cutting at the root of this system.

The system of Purdah has come in for much adverse criticism, and this has led some Indian enthusiasts who are unacquainted with their histories to disown it and attribute it to extraneous influences. Students of history, however, know very well that Purdah, as it exists in India, is an ancient indigenous institution and that it existed in one form or other in ancient times in many countries of the world. As Mrs. Frieda H. Das writes in her book on *Purdah*, "It arose along with the division of persons into high and low castes and the seclusion of women became the hallmark of aristocracy." Another authority on Indian social questions, Mr. N. C. Mehta, I.C.S., writes in his book on *Contribution*

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of Islam to Indian Culture: "It is, of course, untrue that Islam brought the Purdah into this country. Seclusion of women can be traced in all ancient communities, and it was particularly among the aristocracy during the palmy days of Hindu civilization. Indian Muslims followed the custom of the country and adopted the prevailing hallmark of gentility." Purdah tended to become stricter, and Manu's Laws, a special feature of which was distrust of women, contributed especially to that state of affairs. The only time when women were allowed to come out was the "Swayambra" or the wedding ceremony.

The following few quotations and instances from the most authentic Hindu scriptures and ancient lore serve to prove the existence of the Purdah system in this country from the times of the Aryans. Let us take the two most authentic records of civilization which every Hindu regards as sacred—namely, Ramayana and Mahabharata. It will be seen from these books that Purdah of the most rigorous type existed in those days in the distant past when women like Sita and Drupadi could claim that their persons were not seen by the sun and the winds, and not even by the gods themselves.

When Sita came out of her seclusion to accompany Rama in his banishment the people felt greatly agitated seeing their Rani out and cried out, "How bad times have become that Sita, of whom the gods could not obtain a glimpse, has now come out to face the vulgar gaze." *Ramayana, Yodhia Kandum*, Swarj 33, Sloka 197.

In another episode in the Ramayana it is said that when King Rama, after his conquest of Ceylon, asked for his consort Sita to be brought to his presence, the companions of the King began to clear the hall of men, on which King Rama, as one learned in the Hindu scriptures, pronounced the following verdict:

> "Listen, gentlemen! On the occasions of grief or helplessness or war, or the ceremony of choosing a husband, or a sacred sacrifice, or matrimony, it is no sin for a woman to come out of her seclusion or for men to cast their looks on her. This Sita is grief-stricken and helpless, and there is no harm if she comes before men, especially in my presence." *Ramayana, Yudh Kandam*, Swarj 114, Sloka 942.

When Raja Bibhesan brought out Sita from her seclusion and conducted her to the presence of King Rama, she felt so shy that she bent low and could not walk "as if she was covering herself in her own body" (*ibid.*).

Similar references to the strict seclusion of women are found in the Mahabharata, and one characteristic episode is that of Yodhistar losing his wife Drupadi in the gamble, and when the

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winner Duryodhan tried to take her out in the open, she bewailed: "The Rajas had seen me only on the occasion of choosing a husband (Swayambara). No one saw me ever before or after it. Even the sun and the winds could not see me. But misfortune has forced me to appear before men today. Alas! The Rajas have lost their ancient faith (Sanatan Dharm). No gentleman ever brought his wife before man. But, alas, now religion finds no place in the family." *Mahabharata*, Sloka 4, 5, 8, 9, *Sabha Paroh*, Adhyaya 69, p. 61.

In the Puranic days we also find the same rules of Purdah, and it is said that when Raja Manas, the uncle of Raja Sri Krishna, held a wrestling bout in Muttra and invited the royalties from far and near to attend it, he constructed enclosures for females in such a manner that they seemed to be floating high in the air, and thin porous cloth was drawn over to let the women watch the match below. *Hariwans Purana, Vishnu Paroh*, Adhyaya 19.

In the *Brahma Purana*, Sloka 39, Adhyaya 22, the public appearance of women is most emphatically condemned and a feature of Kalyug—*i.e.*, the age of decline—is said to be that "women will become so corrupt that they will adorn their tresses and walk about in the open, not caring for the admonitions of their husbands and elders."

From these sacred books we come down to lighter literature, and we find in the *Harish Charitam of Ban*, Act 1, Scene 3, that the veil is mentioned as a sign of a noble woman, and at one place it is said, "As a veil on the face of a noble woman."

When Raja Dushyant saw Shakuntala for the first time, he exclaimed, "This appears to be a fully veiled girl, who has covered her body so closely that her body is completely hidden. In the house of these mendicants she appears to be a little sapling covered with dry leaves." *Shakuntala Ankor*, Sloka 13.

We also find a trace of this in *Kautalia's Artha Shastra*, a book written about 300 B.C. We find there laws for making contracts between women who lived in seclusion and others which are absolutely peculiar to such women. *Artha Shastra*, edited by Shama Shastri, 1919, p. 188 of English translation, and p. 147 of original edition, 1909, *3rd Adhi Karan, Dharn Shastriyam*, pp. 147-148.

Mr. N. N. Law also mentions this in his book on *Ancient Hindu Polity* (London), 1914, p. 144.

Mrs. Frieda H. Das, commenting on the effects of Manu's Laws on women, says, on page 27 of her book on *Purdah*, "It is Manu's code that has had the most negative effects forging the unbreakable shackles on Indian women for countless generations."

The same author remarks on page 93 of the book referred to above, "Classical and later Hindu literature teems with slighting

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references to woman's character. 'One may trust most deadly poison, a river, a hurricane, the beautiful, large and fierce elephant, the tiger roaming for prey, the Angel of Death, a thief, a savage, a murderer, but if a man trusts a woman, he will surely be reduced to wander through the streets in desolation.' It soon inculcated in their minds the deep conviction that freedom of movement outside the house would lower their standing and place them on a common level with low castes."

It is important, however, to remember that this is not peculiar to Manu or India alone. In ancient times the view commonly held by the sages of different countries was not different from this. According to Socrates, "Nothing in this world is a greater source of trouble than woman." The Greeks, indeed, thought that it was easy to treat a snake-bite, but it was impossible to counteract the wickedness of woman. John of Damascus said, "A woman is the daughter of wickedness and an enemy of peace."

Islam, however, recognized companionship of women, gave them contractual rights in marriage and rights in movable and immovable property both for husbands, parents and other relations.

It will be of interest to note here how Muslim thought influenced this system. At the advent of Islam in Arabia, there were some kinds of veiling current there. But Islam did not countenance any of them. Being, however, opposed to coquetry it encouraged two things already in vogue there—namely, "Jalbab" and "Khimar." The former is a loose sheet worn over the dress also in India, especially by the Kshattriya women when going out. The latter was precisely the same sort of dress as nuns wear. In this the face, hands and feet were never covered. Women were allowed to walk freely and were never kept in seclusion. Only they had to go about modestly. The following quotations from the Quran clearly bear out the point that women were free to go about, only they were required to be modest. "Say to the believing women that they cast down their looks" (Part 18, Chapter 24, Section 31, Act 30). The same injunction is repeated at the same place for men also and they are also ordered to cast down their gaze. It is quite evident from this that men and women have been treated alike in this matter. There was no need for these injunctions, if men and women were not allowed to go about freely and come in contact with each other. Another passage of the Quran clearly shows that Islam never ordained concealing of face and hands. It enjoins upon women "not to display their ornaments," but says that this restriction does not apply to things that must appear (Part 18, Chapter 24, Section 4, Act 31). Again, the Quran sanctions that the women should go about and earn their living.

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It is a historical fact that Muslims took their women into battle with them and allotted to them the same duties of nursing the injured and giving relief as is discharged today by the Red Cross and Red Ahmar Societies and Seva Samaties.

During the lifetime of the Prophet, women used to be taken by the Arabs in holy wars. Thus Omme-Atiya had accompanied the Prophet in various wars seven times. The Prophet also took with him his wife Aisha, and other women of the tribes of Omme-Muslim and Ansars (*Sahih Muslim*). Safia bravely killed a Jew in the War of Khandaq. In the same war Omme-Amara saved the life of the Prophet. (*Sirus Sahabiyat,* pp. 4 and 5.) Gibbon in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* relates the story of the wife of Aban in connection with the battle fought on the plain of Aznadin. She had followed her husband to the holy war in which he was killed. She took an oath to avenge his death, and was actually successful in wounding the aggressor. History also proves that during the days of the Prophet, women attended mosques as they still do in many places.

According to the late Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, "Women continued down to the accession of Mutawakkil, the 10th Caliph of the House of Abbas, to enjoy an extraordinary amount of freedom. . . . Fathers were still proud of assuming surnames after their accomplished and beautiful daughters and brothers, and lovers still rushed to battle acclaiming the names of their sisters and lady-loves." (*A Short History of the Saracens*, p. 200.) The well-known author Abu-Tyyab Mohammad-al-Muffazal ad-Dibbi, returning once from Mecca, halted at a watering place not far from Medina. He was very tired and fatigued and went to stay in a neighbouring house, where he was welcomed and allowed to stay for a while by a maiden who was all alone in the house. Both began to chat, and "the words like pearls were scattered from her lips." Whilst they were thus conversing, her grandmother entered and sat down by their side, "laughingly warning the stranger to beware of the witchery of the fair girl."

Islamic history furnishes innumerable examples of their learning, writings and oratory. Ummul-Banin, wife of Walid I. and sister of Omer II., was a remarkable woman of her time, who scolded and gave a memorable lecture to famous Hajjaj. Sakina, the daughter of Hosain, the martyr of Karbala, has been regarded as "the first among the women of her time by birth, beauty, wit and virtue." Her residence was the resort of poets, jurists and learned and pious people of all classes.

This was the position when Muslims were in their pristine glory and the influence of other civilizations had not dominated them. Later some shades of seclusion developed among them

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too, especially through Persian influence. But women were never shut within four walls even then.

This was the state of things when Muslims came to India. Those, however, who came were very few, and the millions of Muslims we find in India today are all Indians by birth, descent and race and naturally the aristocracy among them kept up the old habits of their forefathers which came to them as a legacy from their old civilization. The humbler of them, however, began to use Burqa (the covering from head to feet—very similar to the shape of a shuttle-cock) and go about in that dress to visit friends or for shopping purposes. Those, however, who came from the menial class, as unfortunately it is known in India, in spite of the Islamic injunctions to the contrary, did not use any such covering. However, modern influences and national needs are coming to our rescue, and we see now even elder women of the aristocracy shaking off seclusion. The intelligentsia, especially the young intelligentsia, both among Hindus and Muslims, feel themselves in opposition to this old custom, and as education is increasing and consciousness is growing among women they seem determined to eliminate the system.

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THE ROMANCE OF MODERN JOHORE

By Sir R. O. Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt.
(Formerly General Adviser to the Malay State of Johore.)

As I watched Sultan Ibrahim of Johore riding in the Coronation procession behind Mr. Baldwin and the Premiers of the Dominions, my mind leapt back to April 25, 1935, when, on the day before I left Malaya after thirty-two years' service, I heard His Highness' voice over my telephone in Johore Baharu, the capital of his State, saying, "I am very fond of the King and I want to do something about the Jubilee. Can Johore afford to give half a million pounds for the defence of Singapore as a Jubilee gift and would it be acceptable to the British Government?" His Highness, who weekly presides at his Executive Council, was as well aware as I that Johore could afford it, but the offer was startling in its magnitude, even for one of the wealthiest of the Malay protected States, and doubly startling broached in His Highness' informal way over the telephone. But what to my mind gilded that offer above price was that neither I nor any other Britisher had ever breathed such a proposal into the Sultan's ear.

It was as a youth in 1895 that Sultan Ibrahim ascended the throne of Johore, when on a June evening his father, Abu-Bakar, died at Bailey's Hotel, an event today perhaps within the memory of few Englishmen except the Duke of Connaught, who twice visited the dying Malay ruler. Abu-Bakar was the grandson of the chief who in 1819 sold Singapore to Stamford Raffles to become a British possession, and indeed from that time down to 1889 the ancestors of Sultan Ibrahim actually lived in Singapore, wars having compelled the Malay court to abandon in 1718 its Johore capital for Riau and then Lingga, islands in the archipelago of which Singapore is a geographical unit. In fact, when the British started to develop Singapore, the sole relics of a former kingdom in Johore were, as a Malay MS. remarks, the dilapidated tombs of its nobles and a few gold coins. It was my fortune to discover far up the Johore river one of those tombs, that of a Sulaiman Shah, mentioned in D'Albuquerque's *Commentaries* but otherwise unknown until the inscription on his grave revealed him as the son of Mansur Shah, Sultan of Malacca from 1458 to 1477 and grandson of Muzaffar Shah, Sultan of Malacca from 1445 to 1458. The tomb of Sulaiman's brother, who became Sultan Ala'u'd-din Shah of Malacca, I discovered with the help of Tengku Ahmad, the youngest son of the present Sultan of Johore, in

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Muar, a province of Johore, in an old graveyard, along with an anonymous fifteenth-century tomb, inscribed with the usual texts from the Quran and with a quatrain from *The Arabian Nights,* which Burton has rendered:

> Thou wast create of dust and cam'st to life,
> And learned'st in eloquence to place thy trust;
> Anon, to dust returning, thou becamest
> A corpse, as though ne'er taken from the dust.

These and a few other tombs and the dragon creese of Sultan Muzaffar Shah, now in Raffles Museum, Singapore, are practically all that is left of fifteenth-century Malacca and Johore, though both have older relics surviving from Hindu and even neolithic times. Their later history, too, is a fascinating subject for those interested in the chronicles of Portuguese, Dutch and English trade and adventure in Eastern waters, but I have told it at length elsewhere, and here space confines me to an account of how modern Johore rose from its dead past on the stepping-stone of that great port which British enterprise created out of the mangrove swamps of Singapore.

For with their indefatigable industry the Chinese who flocked to the new British settlement got the Proto-Malay pagan aborigines to bring down Johore's rivers rattans, wax, lime, resins, eaglewood, ivory and gold-dust, and tin in small quantities. Still, however, even in Johore's more populated districts near Malacca, a writer in the 1830's records, "Owing to fighting among petty Malay chiefs, the thriving rice-fields have degenerated into barren marshes; an enormous forest, peopled with wild elephants, overshadows a soil naturally rich and prolific, while the gaunt rhinoceros and uncouth tapir stalk unmolested over spots once, if tradition belies them not, the sites of large and populous towns." Then, between 1835 and 1840, the failure of the spice plantations on Singapore island caused many of its Chinese agriculturists to migrate across the narrow strait of Johore, the strait since 1924 bridged by a causeway carrying a railway and motor road. Opening pepper plantations, these Chinese began to increase Johore's small population and revenue, and in 1843 gutta-percha (Malaya's wild indigenous forerunner of the imported para rubber) was discovered and fetched such a high price that the few civilized Muslim Malays then living in the State abandoned their rice-fields to collect the latex. In five short years the trade, of which nine-tenths was in the hands of Sultan Ibrahim's grandfather, was worth $150,000 to $200,000 a year, and if this old chief copied the obsolete Dutch system of monopoly, he made a public-spirited use of his profits, endowing Malay and English missionary schools in Singapore and defraying half the cost of two gunboats for the

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suppression of piracy in local waters. At the same time he displayed that fearless independence which was to characterize his son and grandson, and occasionally he paid a Singapore lawyer two or three thousand dollars to indict stinging epistles to the Governor of the Straits Settlements, epistles which the dispassionate historian of today must hold to have been justified. One of his last political acts was to protest that the phrase, "adjacent seas, straits and islets, to the extent of ten geographical miles from the coast," in the 1824 treaty finally ceding Singapore, was never meant to imply the surrender of the southern part of Johore itself, and those interested in the law's delays will note that this error, though admitted, was not rectified by Act of Parliament until the present century.

When, in 1826, Abu-Bakar succeeded his father, the Malay States were no longer united against the Dutch East India Company or controlled by the old Malacca-Johore Empire (which Holland and England had split up for ever), so that for years what are now the prosperous Federated Malay States, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, had been in a turmoil of civil war and difficulties with immigrant Chinese tin-miners. But though the Governor of the Straits Settlements duly reported that outside Johore and the northern Malay States under the suzerainty of Siam there were confusion and anarchy, with consequent disturbance of trade, yet inheriting the tradition of John Company, the India Office steadfastly refused to intervene. Abu-Bakar, however, could not thus stand entirely aloof. Marriage-ties and the cession by his cousin, the ruler of Pahang, to Johore of Tioman and other islands compelled him to do his utmost to support that ruler against invasion by a younger brother. The pretender won, took back the islands and founded the present Pahang dynasty, whereupon, with the opportunism he had studied in the old John Company, Abu-Bakar accepted defeat, had indeed to do so as Fort William refused to assist him against invasion. In the fraticidal struggles of Selangor royalty Abu-Bakar did not see eye to eye with the British Government, and said so, "with the full knowledge that I should not lose a tittle of the confidence or consideration of your Government because my views did not coincide with yours. Instead, I may claim to more, if anything, as my own sentiments were suppressed, because opposed to those of your Government, I have acted in conformity with the latter." Lord Kimberley declared that he had never suspected Abu-Bakar's good faith, so that when in 1875 Mr. Birch, the Resident of Perak, was murdered, the Johore ruler was again called upon to be the intermediary between his own race and the British, and there was even a proposal from London that he should be offered the Perak throne. By a series of treaties signed at Government House,

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Singapore, in 1876 and 1877, several small Negri Sembilan chiefs agreed to refer their disputes and difficulties to the arbitration of Abu-Bakar, who went so far as to send a sort of Malay Resident to advise them. Finally, in 1886 the British invoked his aid to bring peace and security to Pahang. For a while it had looked as if Abu-Bakar might hope to restore Johore's ancient suzerainty over the Malay States of the Peninsula, but in 1867 Malaya's affairs had been transferred from the India Office to the Colonial Office, which in 1873 decided to start the Residential system. After the Perak war consequent on Birch's murder, that system grew rapidly and led to Great Britain acquiring the suzerainty once exercised by Abu-Bakar's ancestors and before them by the Sultans of Malacca.

But if he was disappointed in his imperial ambitions, Abu-Bakar's abundant energy wrought miracles in Johore. Struck by the dignified tempo of Malay life, the European is too apt to accuse the race of laziness and apathy, whereas the amazing industry of Abu-Bakar in the Pahang war and in Johore affairs, for example, led me elsewhere to compare him with D'Albuquerque, who found time to sign indents for flags, for dressings for an elephant, and for food for a panther on its voyage to Portugal and to initial payments to natives who had carried oyster-shells to make mortar. So, too, Abu-Bakar's correspondence covers advice on opium-smoking, advice on Pahang taxation, instructions for cleaning rifles, the proper doses of medicine for fever, the housing of Pahang women refugees, the supply of salt, rice, tobacco, biscuits and guns for the fighters, timber-cutting in Johore, the indebtedness of Chinese sawyers, the provision of a Chinese graveyard, modern land laws for Johore, requests for flowering forest trees for his palace garden, and innumerable other details. In 1866 he paid his first visit to Europe, was granted an audience by Queen Victoria, met the Prince of Wales, and toured England with an eye to the needs of his own country. When he came to the throne, Johore's present capital had been little more than a fishing-village. In 1885 the then Duke of Sutherland, visiting it in his yacht, found a little town with 10,000 Chinese and "a market-place of architectural pretensions," and was taken to inspect plantations of coffee, tea, cloves, gambir and pepper. The Duke's piper trained the first Malay ever to play a Scottish reel, and the Duke tried to eat a durian. His host played cricket and billiards, quoted Tennyson, and kept a stud. In 1882 the Sultan had already entertained the late King George V. and his elder brother; the royal princes finding "the huge drawing-room like one of the state-rooms at Windsor and furnished from London," and being entertained by a Malay regatta, Chinese conjurors and the Singapore races, to which the Sultan drove them in his coach.

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Like his son, Abu-Bakar was a great traveller, visiting India, Java, China and Japan, and in Europe meeting the Kaiser, the Emperor Francis Joseph and Sultan Abdu'l-Hamid of Turkey. For her Jubilee in 1887 he had presented Queen Victoria with a silver model of the Albert Memorial, and on his next visit was invited to Windsor Castle; Johore still treasures a letter in the Queen's own hand thanking Abu-Bakar for a walking-stick and signing herself his "affectionate friend."

Travelling *en grand seigneur* must have cost Sultan Abu-Bakar large sums, and absence from his State owing to ill-health had led to its finances getting into a mess. When the present Sultan came as a youth to the throne, he found an empty Treasury and no staff competent to keep proper accounts. He sealed up the Treasury, collected a staff and defied the "wicked uncles," who reported him to the Governor at Singapore for violating tradition and prophesied openly that he would die young. The Governor considered that Sultan Ibrahim was a young ruler trying to do his best in very difficult circumstances, and he declined to interfere unless the Sultan invoked his aid. As for threats, a boxer in his youth, a keen horseman and ardent big-game hunter, who shoots driven tigers on foot, Sultan Ibrahim has never known what physical fear is. On two occasions when armed lunatics attempted his life he dodged their weapons and captured them himself with his bare hands. One day he found his police hunting for a murderer. When the fellow emerged from the jungle, drawn cutlass in hand, Sultan Ibrahim, unarmed, walked up to the madman and, offering him a cigarette in return for his weapon, persuaded him to surrender. Like his father and grandfather, Ibrahim has boundless energy, needing only a few hours' sleep. As a boy he was intolerant of book-learning, and though he passed through a Malay school, he studied in an English school for one day only, after which he ran away to the horses he loved. Today he is bilingual, speaking English and Malay with equal fluency, and having also a smattering of Chinese, Tamil and Arabic. Quite early he recognized the need his growing State had of expert financial and legal assistance, and employed as his unofficial adviser Mr. Buckley, a well-known Singapore lawyer. Later he engaged a former Resident of one of the Federated Malay States. And then, finally, in 1914, he asked that there should be accredited to his court a seconded British civil servant to be styled General Adviser, whose advice His Highness engaged to accept on general administration and on all questions other than those touching Malay religion and custom. At the same time he stipulated that Malays and Europeans in his service should be treated on terms of equality, and he arranged to appoint Europeans, official and unofficial, to his State and Executive Councils. For years as its

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Colonel His Highness had devoted much care to the very fine Johore Malay regiment, for some time giving up half his privy purse towards its maintenance. At the outbreak of the Great War Sultan Ibrahim placed himself and his regiment at the disposal of His Majesty's Government, and under his personal command the regiment, whose marksmanship and smartness on parade are above the ordinary, took part in the suppression of the Singapore mutiny, while the wife of the Governor and other ladies found a refuge in his palace at Johore.

In 1914 the revenue of Johore, a State of the size of Wales, was £507,838, in 1928 it was £2,414,776, and in the current year is likely to reach a higher level than it has ever attained. The main sources of that revenue are Customs duties on tin and rubber, land rents and excise. There are Government Departments dealing with administration and justice, land and surveys, agriculture, forestry, mines, medical services and health, education, police, all of them with a mixed personnel of British and Malays. Enough for most men would be the labour Sultan Ibrahim has personally exerted in the development of his State, with its modern roads and railway, its postal and telephone services, its electric-lit towns and their water supplies and its medically inspected estates. But his abundant energy, coupled with a keen business brain, led His Highness in the very early days of rubber to plant several thousand acres of his own property with para, about which he would ride on daily inspection while many of his subjects were still in their beds. Another example of his prescience is that he could foresee the development of motor traffic, and, rather against the views of British officals, insisted on the construction of a motor road alongside the railway on the causeway joining his State to Singapore.

I met Sultan Ibrahim in London after the Coronation festivities and told him that I was writing this paper on Johore. "Is there anything you would particularly like me to say?" I asked. "Only this," His Highness replied. "Say that the Sultanah and myself have been overwhelmed at the warmth of our reception in London and at the hospitality that has been lavished upon us." Yet, when they return to Johore, time will not hang heavy upon their hands. The Sultan will go back to his life-long task of studying the interests of his State, and the Sultanah will take up again her work for Malay womanhood and devote to a new palace, now building, those talents for decoration which have made the Sultan's Singapore house the most tastefully furnished in Malaya.

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EDUCATION IN TURKEY

By Z. M. Niksel

Historical Synopsis

The present state of Education in Turkey cannot be fully understood without a survey embracing the origins of the Turkish Empire and its subsequent political and social phases. The edifice of education in Turkey is so new, so different from the past, that it seems to have no relationship to the system prevalent until a quarter of a century ago. Amazing changes have effaced all vestiges of parentage between the old and the new. Nevertheless, the link between the past and the present must be detected and described. Without knowledge of the past the present would not impress itself with the necessary strength and clarity. If today the principles governing education in Turkey are so divergent from those prevailing before, that may be explained partly by the fact that Turkey was very backward and partly by the impact of the reaction.

Education in Turkey may be divided into three main periods:

I. The theocratic period: from the origins to the Tanzimat (1300-1839).

II. The transition period: from the Tanzimat to the proclamation of the Turkish Republic (1839-1923).

III. The reform period (1923-1937).

Of these three periods, the first has endured five centuries, the second scarcely a century, while the third, only 15 years old, has already achieved a deep and far-reaching transformation.

The Theocratic Period

The Turkish tribe of Kayihan which came from Central Asia and settled down on the borders of the Ægean and Marmara Seas, adopted the Islamic faith. This event exerted great influence on the future destinies of the Turkish Empire. At their first contacts with their Muslim neighbours, the Turks found a high stage of theological and juridical learning. The Islamic religion had already an all-embracing code regulating the relations between the citizens and the State and between the citizens amongst themselves.

When the Turks abandoned their nomadic life and settled down in the conquered country they had to create in addition to

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the military hierarchy and discipline a civil and judiciary organization. This led the Turks to open early, in Nicea and Broussa, medresses which trained the "kadi," the "muftis," and the major part of the State officials. The medresses increased and thrived until the end of the reign of Soliman the Magnificent. They provided the State with many prominent dignitaries. But, by their very nature, they could not develop. Furthermore, they degenerated with the decline of the Turkish Empire. The few attempts that were made to introduce in their programme matters of modern science remained sterile. The spirit of the medresses was irreconcilable with the spirit of evolution. Not only could the medresses not keep pace with the progress made in Europe, but they even constituted a stronghold of the fiercest and blindest conservatism.

Besides, the medresses were deeply marked with the Islamic stamp. Islam, like the Roman Catholic Church, is universal. It has no frontiers. It takes to its bosom all who are willing to tread the path to salvation, and it erects walls between Muslims and non-Muslims.

That was perhaps one of the reasons which hindered the multifarious elements of the ancient Turkish Empire to become amalgamated. That explains also why Turkey awoke so late to a national consciousness and why Arabic and Persian literature took such deep root in the Turkish written and spoken language.

The Transition Period

The Tanzimat represents the big exertion made by the Turkish Empire to follow new paths. It created the modern school, but left the medresses in their original state. The men who had the care and the nurture of the young could not free themselves from the rooted prejudices of the time. While the medresses continued their old activity in their old channels, the country had one eye turned to the past and one eye turned to the future. Mediæval and modern teaching, the first under the authority of the Sheikul Islam, the second under the authority of the newly created Minister of Public Instruction, was inculcated into the minds of the youth. This created a state of things which greatly jeopardized the unity of the nation. Though timorous and vacillating, the reform was nevertheless a rosy dawn. Schools, primary and secondary, were erected in many parts of the Empire, where Arabic was not the sole teaching.

Apart from the School of Engineers, the War Academy and the School of Medicine, created during the last years of the theocratic period, the following schools were established in this transition era: The modern Lycée of Galata Saray (1868). In this

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lycée the instruction was imparted mostly in French by French professors. This school provided the majority of the diplomats of the ancient and new régimes.

The civil service school "Mulkiye" (1876). This school trained the majority of the governors ("valis") and sub-governors ("kaymakans") of the provinces.

The law school "Hukuk Mektebi" (1879). The sheriat had been codified before and promulgated as law under the name of "Mejelle." During this period a large volume of legislation had been achieved.

The Reform Period

The salient feature of this period is its complete detachment from the past. The transition period had already shown that half measures and compromises would hamper the speeding along the road leading to new democratic ideals. In consequence, four main principles were accepted as the basis of the new system of education: (1) Laicization; (2) unity; (3) abolition of difference of teaching between the two sexes; (4) training of the body as well as of the mind.

The outstanding changes which have given to the Turkish cultural life of the last decade quite another aspect are: (*a*) The adoption of the Latin alphabet, (*b*) the reform in the tuition of Turkish history, (*c*) the reform of the language.

The adoption of the Latin alphabet has contributed greatly to the spread of instruction in all the layers of society. The Arabic alphabet uses very few vowels. The Arabic moulds or forms made up, to a certain extent, for the absence of vowels, but the Turkish language has quite a different morphology. They formed on account of this fundamental difference an ill-assorted partnership. The adoption of the Latin alphabet is one of the most sweeping reforms of Atatürk. People who had remained illiterate until middle age could learn in a few days to read and write.

The corporation of public writers, which in the corners of mosques wrote petitions and letters with reeds of different sizes and lengths, belongs to the picturesque old Turkey. Certainly one still sees today in the streets of Ankara and Istanbul a few public writers who with rickety old typewriting machines draft epistles and documents, but they are the last remnants of the profession.

The Teaching of Turkish History

During the ancient régime the history of Turkey was considered to be a continuation of the history of Islam. The Turks were after the Seljukians, the standard bearers of the Muhammadan

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faith. Until twenty years ago the history of Turkey was taught in the primary and secondary schools after the history of Islam and as a natural and chronological sequel. Now the history of Turkey is taught as a part of the history of the Turks. Under the auspices of the society for historical researches a new history book has been compiled with the required gradations for different classes. The new tuition makes the Turkish boy and girl feel themselves not an heir to the Arabs, not a crusader of the faith, but a scion of the Turks and the torch-bearer of another culture with its cradle in Central Asia.

The Reform of the Language

The Turkish language has been rendered cumbersome and unwieldy through the infiltration in the course of many centuries of a quantity of Arabic and Persian words and phrases. In reality the evil was engendered less by the words themselves than by the plurals and phrases. The Arabic forms of plural, the Persian possessive and adjectival forms linked together in long sentences ("terkibi izafi" and "terkibi vasfi"), gave to the Turkish language a hybrid appearance and made its acquisition extremely hard. This gave birth to a class of "mandarins" and dug a gulf between the learned classes and the people.

Since Shinasi, Namik Kemal, Ekrem and others the Turkish language has undergone a purification and little by little rid itself of its dross. But this process seemed to the radicals to be too slow. As a reaction from the subordination of the Turkish language to the Arabic and Persian, the movement to abolish the Arabic and Persian forms was begun and the watchword circulated to dispense with Arabic and Persian words whenever Turkish substitutes were available. In order to employ as few Arabic and Persian words as possible, Turkish philologists searched in Turkish provinces and villages and in other countries where Turkish is spoken for Turkish words which would fill the gaps left by the abolition of non-Turkish words.

This movement has so far followed a zig-zag course. The sharp turns have been corrected by the good taste of the enlightened part of the nation. The movement seems to have subsided somewhat, but as the process is going on and its boundaries are not yet quite visible it would be premature to pass judgment upon it.

Primary Schools

During the Sultanate and until twenty years ago primary education was imparted in Turkey by the Ministry of Public Instruction, by foreign schools, by schools belonging to non-Muslim

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communities, by those under the authority of the Sheikul Islam, and by those managed by the Evkaf (religious endowments). The law of March 3, 1934, unified the education and put an end to this anarchy. All primary schools are now either under the direct authority of the Ministry or under its effective supervision. The primary teaching lasts three years in the villages and five years elsewhere. In the first three classes only one branch is taught. It is called "life knowledge" ("Hayat Bilgisi") and comprises, as may be easily guessed, the whole range of human knowledge, but only in their rudiments. Children are made acquainted with the objects that surround them and with the phenomena that strike their imagination. Specially they are taught to develop their power of expression by speaking, by writing, by drawing, and by moving.

In these schools the teaching is led and inspired by the outstanding actual events. The big headlines of the daily papers supply the themes. For instance, a few days ago Turkish public attention was dominated by the Sanjak question. By this opportunity, children were taught how Syria as an ancient Turkish province had the Sanjak under its sway. What is the importance of the Mediterranean Sea? Why is language a powerful factor in preserving the national feeling? What is a mandate? What is the League of Nations? What are treaties?

Every year between January 12 and 18 there is a "Buy Turkish week," also called "the savings week." This week, when the weather is propitious, is dedicated to the inspection of the industrial equipment of the country. Children visit plants, factories, banks, and railway stations. This affords an opportunity for imparting to young minds a knowledge of economics. What does the Turkish soil produce? What is exported? What is imported? Why does deposited money bring interest? What are public loans?

Grammar Schools

The grammar school ("orta okul") is the link between the primary school and the lycée. Before the Republican régime there were secondary schools, called "Idadié," comprising five or seven classes. They were institutions giving under the same roof grammar school and lycée education. Today the lycées are completely separated. The grammar school teaching lasts six years and is divided into two equal periods. The second period of three years belongs to the lycée curriculum.

Boys and girls in the grammar schools are taught history, geography, civic knowledge, mathematics, science, hygiene, foreign languages (as many hours as Turkish), drawing, music, laboratory work, military training (during these hours girls are busy with

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housewifery). In the second period sociology and philosophy are added to these branches and the hours devoted to foreign languages are increased.

The Lycées

The lycées have taken in the new régime the place of the ancient "idadiés" of the villayets (provinces). Their programme has been broadened and modernized and their standards raised. In order to make a better selection for the university, the school-leaving examination has been dissociated from the matriculation examination. The number of alumni in 1936 (11,746) is ten times greater than ten years ago. New schools have been erected in many villayets. They have all been equipped with quadrangles, gymnasiums, laboratories, and libraries.

In spite of the increase in the scientific branches, the time-tables are less overburdened than before, because Persian and Arabic, which occupied the third part of the curriculum, are no longer on the programmes. The loss, in this respect, if any, is not very great. The methods employed in teaching Arabic and Persian were antiquated and rested chiefly on learning by heart. Like all things hoarded in the memory without passing through the channels of comparison and discrimination, a very small part of the mass of the incoherent knowledge resisted the corrosive action of time. Among those Turks who graduated from the old "idadiés" fifteen years or more ago one seldom meets a fortunate scholar who can read and understand an Arabic or Persian text.

The Universities

At present there is only one university in Turkey: that of Istanbul. It has five faculties: law, literature, economics, science, medicine. The university includes among its professors prominent people of European standing. Most of them are German professors, ousted by the Hitler régime. Lectures are given either in German or in French, and they are translated into Turkish by young Turkish professors mostly graduated from foreign universities. Some of the foreign professors have begun to lecture in Turkish. They have pledged themselves by a clause of their contract to lecture in Turkish at the end of four years. Some have been able to do so before the expiry of the term.

Ankara will in a few years be the seat of the second Turkish university. It has already a faculty of law, a faculty of languages, geography and history, and an agronomic institute with a veterinary branch. The school of political sciences which prepares for the civil service has lately been transferred to Ankara.

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The creation of a faculty of medicine will be realized in the near future.

In Istanbul and in Ankara the number of girl students is approximately the fourth of that of the boys. Only in the faculty of literature of Istanbul the number of girls is slightly superior (207 to 287). The Turkish girl frequents the university not only to train her mind and broaden her horizon, but also in order to secure a financial independence even when she belongs to a well-to-do class of society. There are no careers in Turkey from which women are debarred. They have not only invaded the clerical positions but are also judges, lawyers, physicians, agronomists, and State officials.

When one sees in Ankara and in the other big cities of Turkey girls hurrying in the morning to the Ministries and banks, and remembers that their sisters twenty years ago stagnated in idle expectation behind the high walls and latticed windows of their houses, one may well wonder how this magical metamorphosis has been possible. As Ankara, which was during the old régime a city of hardly 40,000 inhabitants, now shelters 130,000 people, the question of the completion of the university involves the problem of residential accommodation. Every time that the Ministry creates a new school in Ankara, it provides for a boarding institution for the students. Perhaps one day a sufficient number of hostels for students will be erected to enable them to separate the problem of education from that of lodging.

The universities have assumed a high task unknown in the past. They are now independent centres of scientific research. The Turks will no more look at their own histories through the eyes of foreign authors. They are getting equipped in order to plunge in the depths of their soil to exhume the vestiges left by the past, and they do not expect that archæologists from other countries will come with spades and catalogue the buried treasures of their subsoil. They will gladly accept the help of others, but not with the indolent complacency of their predecessors.

Professional Teaching

The plan of industrial equipment established and carried out by the Turkish Government could not fail to open new fields of activity to craftsmen of every category. That accounts for the favour which is enjoyed by the numerous schools of arts and crafts which supply practical and modern training.

The "exhibition of domestic arts and crafts," opened three months ago in Ankara, showed a revival of the ancient Turkish deftness and skill.

Apart from the schools which train the officers for the army and

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navy the following are the principal technical schools that can compare with competitive foreign institutions: The Normal High School, the Pedagogic Institute, the High Agronomical Institute, the High School of Engineers, the School of Fine Arts, and the Conservatoire.

In technical training the girls have the biggest share. The Institute of Ismet Inönü of Ankara was created to supply the new requirements of the emancipated Turkish woman.

The Turkish lady is no more wrapped in a uniform dark "charshaf." The "charshaf" itself was not exempt from the caprices of the almighty Goddess Fashion, but it was less exposed to arbitrary change.

Now the models of London and Paris are anxiously scrutinized in Ankara and the other big cities, and its dictation is followed with reverential obedience.

Are there any Foreign Influences?

It would be misleading to imagine that in the huge work of transformation the present statesmen of Turkey have copied this or that country. The edifice of education in Turkey is a composite one. One traces in it American, French, German, and other influences. Perhaps it would not be erroneous to perceive the features of the kindergarten in the Turkish primary schools, or the principles of the technical American schools in our professional teaching, or the structure of the French lycées in our lycées.

The Turkish statesmen did not hesitate to follow the paths of others when those paths were held to be the right ones, and have always kept in mind that the foreign systems were to be applied to the Turkish boy, who has different idiosyncrasies, brains, and hereditary instincts, and have, therefore, made the required adjustments.

No State and entity nowadays attempts to reform an institution or to create a new one without previous documentation of what is being done on the same lines in other countries. On the other side, among the young Turks filling now the offices of the Ministries and who have studied in France, America, England, Germany, and other countries, many have climbed the summits and have brought each a stone to the new edifice. No wonder that the architecture that has resulted is such a composite one.

Problems and Hindrances

The lycées have reached standards far above those of the ancient "idadié," but new Turkey wants them to be what they are in the best European countries. All efforts converge towards this ob-

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jective. The level of a graduate of a lycée determines the standard of the university student, and graduates of the universities now fill all the Ministries. Therefore, experience is gained until the properly co-ordinated curriculum suitable to the needs is found. The knowledge of foreign languages is a problem far more momentous and urgent in Turkey than anywhere else. We have to complete our national library. Many masterpieces of literature have not yet been translated into Turkish. This task remains for the rising generation.

The high standard reached by the University of Istanbul must be placed to the credit of the constructive policy of the Turkish statesmen. Neither the quantity nor the quality of the teaching is below the European universities. If improvement is needed, it is not on the teaching but on the learning side. That explains the active policy of the Government to raise the standard of the lycées. After the completion of the University of Ankara the Government will have to choose the seat of the third university.

The History of Literature

The purification of the Turkish language has raised another problem. As the Turkish schools do not teach any longer Persian and Arabic grammar and syntax, many Persian and Arabic words have become obsolescent in the course of the last ten years. They are not used in the official language and are banished from the language of the newspapers. The pupils who now throng the schools are not able to read the works of early Turkish literature. Nefi, Nabi, Fuzuli, Nedim, and many others are for them mere puzzles. Nobody thinks of suppressing altogether from the school programme the ancient literature. The literary works are the mirror of the past centuries and are an essential part of national history.

On the other hand, the ancient works of literature could not be expurgated in order to make them intelligible to the new generation. The expurgation would be so extensive that nothing or very little would remain of the originals. This is one of the present issues that are being discussed in educational circles in Turkey.

Village Schools

In Turkey the villages are scattered in wide areas and have a very scanty population. The long distances prevent villages from being merged. Geographical hindrances will perhaps be overcome in a few cases. But this will not alter the general aspect of the problem. The building of forty thousand schools and the recruiting of sufficient teachers is mainly a question of State

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funds. The appropriation for public education has been increased every year since the proclamation of the Republic. But the needs are too vast to receive satisfaction through the normal resources of the budget. The Government will perhaps in the near future, when the plan of industrialization nears completion, establish a quinquennial plan for the educational equipment of the country.

Conclusion

The education in Turkey rests essentially on democratic and civic foundations. From the lowest class of the primary school to the highest class of the university there is no such thing as social distinctions. Education is gratuitous in all its stages. For the boarders, too, the rule is: no fees. When pupils pay, the tuition is very low and measured according to the economic circumstances of the town where the school is situated.

The school prepares not only men who have to conquer a place under the sun, but citizens conscious of their duties to the nation. Pupils are taught to love the régime which has led Turkey to independence, dignity, and responsibility. The enthusiasm is not suffered to tarnish. The flame is carefully fed. I do not think there is exaggeration in the movement. The boys and girls know not only what has been achieved, but also that which remains to be done. They are told that the biggest part of the task depends on them. There is no self-complacency but constant goading. They are not told to believe that Turkey is a paradise. They are told that it behoves them to make their country an Elysium. Nobody conceals the fact that the path is full of thorns. But the results acquired in the last fifteen years are highly stimulating. The groping period will soon be over. Turkey has displayed unsuspected talents of organization. The new generation which inherits the experience of their elders who have done the arduous pioneer work will pass with a steadier pace to higher goals.

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THE CHINESE RAILWAYS TODAY*

By Georges Maspero

(Formerly Resident-Supérieur of the Civil Service in Indo-China; Member of the Academy of Colonial Sciences.)

The imposition of the Conventions of Peking, in October, 1860, upon the Chinese Imperial Government by France and England, and the signature at Peking and Tientsin of the various treaties similar to them which the Western Powers secured between 1860 and 1864, gave Europeans the illusion that henceforth they could indulge, according to their own inclinations, in the exploitation of the riches of China in the service of their particular interests. The Chinese, on the other hand, had for the most part definitely decided never to submit to obligations which they had only agreed to under the constraint of military force and their intention, therefore, was, by trickery and inaction, to bring them to nought.

The story of the building of the first railway on Chinese territory affords remarkable evidence both of the mistake which the Westerners made and of the rooted intention of the Imperial Government to free itself at all costs of the intrusion of the "foreign barbarians." Twenty-seven European merchants of Shanghai asked permission, in 1863, to build a railway between Shanghai and Soochow, an important place about sixty kilometres† to the west of the great Chinese port, and Li Hung Chang, who was then Imperial Commissioner and Governor of the province of Kiangsow, declined to place their request before the throne. The reason which he gave was that he did not consider that a railway would be profitable to China except in so far as it was built by the Chinese themselves. If it were constructed by strangers it would merely have the effect of increasing their influence, which the Imperial Government was anxious at all costs to avoid.

Two years later a new request was made. This time it was a question of a tramway on the road, about seventeen kilometres long, to connect Shanghai with Woosung, a small town situated on the Yangtze (Blue River), opposite which anchored the large

* Communicated to the "Comité d'Études des Problèmes du Pacifique" on December 17, 1936.

The most recent documents which I have been able to consult in drawing up this article are those which Mr. Lawrence Chen, Research Fellow of the Council of International Affairs, published in the Information Bulletin, Vol. I., No. 3, June 1, 1936, under the title "Chinese National Railways and Reconstruction."

† 8 kilometres=5 miles.

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steamers which were not able to pass up the Wangpo to Shanghai itself. Though consent was given, the construction of the tramway, begun in 1865 and stopped in the following year, was only resumed in January, 1876. Put into part use over a distance of nine kilometres on June 30 following, and used over the whole distance in December of the same year, the line was bought in October, 1877, by the Chinese, who immediately stopped all traffic on it and finally demolished it. The Europeans did not insist.

The defeat of the Chinese armies by the Japanese forces at the end of 1894 and the signature of the Treaty of Shimonoseki on April 17, 1895, revealed to the astounded nations of the West the weakness of an Empire which they had thought invulnerable. Judging it to be powerless to offer resistance to their demands, they made no further attempt to conceal their ambitions, which henceforth took an urgent form. Between 1895 and 1911 they exacted from the Imperial Government a whole series of concessions for railway contracts. The result was the building, without any collective plan, of a certain number of main lines, which were constructed not so much for the normal exploitation of the economic wealth of China as with the actual object of serving the interests of certain individuals and the political ambitions of the Powers which secured the contracts.

During this period five thousand kilometres of lines were laid, the work being paid for by means of loans which the Imperial Government found itself compelled to accept and to guarantee on the security of the revenue from customs and excise, and this without being able to take into account the economic requirements of the country nor to have any say in the financial burdens imposed upon it. These lines are: Trans-Manchurian from Manchuli to the port of Vladivostok, afterwards extended to Peking (Peiping); Peiping—Hankow; Tientsin—Powchow; Peiping—Kalgan (Tchang-kia); Taochow—Tsing-ha, called the Tao-ts'ing line; Chengting—Taiyüan, called the Tcheng-t'ai line; Nanking—Shanghai; Shanghai—Hangchow; Kiaochow—Tsinan, called the Kiao-tsi line; Kaifen—Loyang (Honanfu), called the Long-hai line; Canton—Hankow, first section; Canton—Kiolong.

The Chinese revolution (1911), with the internal disorders involved by it, the World War (1914), with the abrupt cessation of all activities on the part of the Western Powers in China, caused for some time a suspension of the building of railways.

It was only in 1922 that work was resumed. Nearly two thousand kilometres of new lines were laid during the subsequent years:

Canton—Chaochow, Wuchang—Changsha, Ta-p'ou—Linghong ho, Ta-p'ou—Ling-pao, Kalgan (Tchang-kia)—Fengchen.

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The Western Powers, however, were not wise enough to profit by the situation. Instead of joining forces in a common effort, they injured one another by their actions in rivalry, and China once more exhibited her skill in profiting from this state of affairs: she succeeded in raising loans on unexpectedly favourable terms and at the cost of guarantees of no great value. Payments of interest were gradually suspended through lack of the necessary resources and of foreign credits; the construction of new railway lines was entirely held up. Disorders in the country, the lack of a strong government, the failure of budgetary resources, resulted in the gradual abandonment of the upkeep of the existing lines. This had reached such a pitch that by 1927 the railway lines of China were in a deplorable condition, the rolling-stock in bad condition, and financial assistance and the possibility of raising it had ceased to exist.

In less than ten years the National Government of the Chinese Republic has succeeded, at the cost of wonderful efforts and discipline, in reversing completely the condition of affairs; at present China may justly pride herself on a railway system already extensive, and look forward to the promise of a future worthy in every respect of the economic wealth of the country.

Established at Nanking on April 18, 1927, the National Government formed in 1928 the Ministry for Railways; to this Ministry was allotted, as its first task, not only the completion of existing lines and the elaboration of a scheme for new lines intended to form, with the old, a national co-ordinated system, but the establishment of a standard form of contract for collaboration with the foreign Powers. This form of contract, while safeguarding the political and economic interests of China, would ensure to these Powers and their dependents a profit which should be legitimate but which should possess no political significance.

In spite of all the difficulties which the National Government of the Chinese Republic has had to face, the trade deficit consequent upon the stoppage of exports as the result of the world crisis, the occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese which has robbed it, since 1931, of the revenue which it secured from this province under the heading of Customs and Excise, the Hoang Ho (Yellow River) floods in the same year (1931) which involved heavy expenditure for assistance and works of repair, the Ministry for Railways has had considerable success in the task assigned to it.

It has, to begin with, pushed on actively with the completion of the main lines primarily required.

The putting into service in October, 1933, of a train-ferry on the Yangtze (Blue River) between Powchow and Nanking has secured direct traffic between Tientsin and Shanghai. This ferry,

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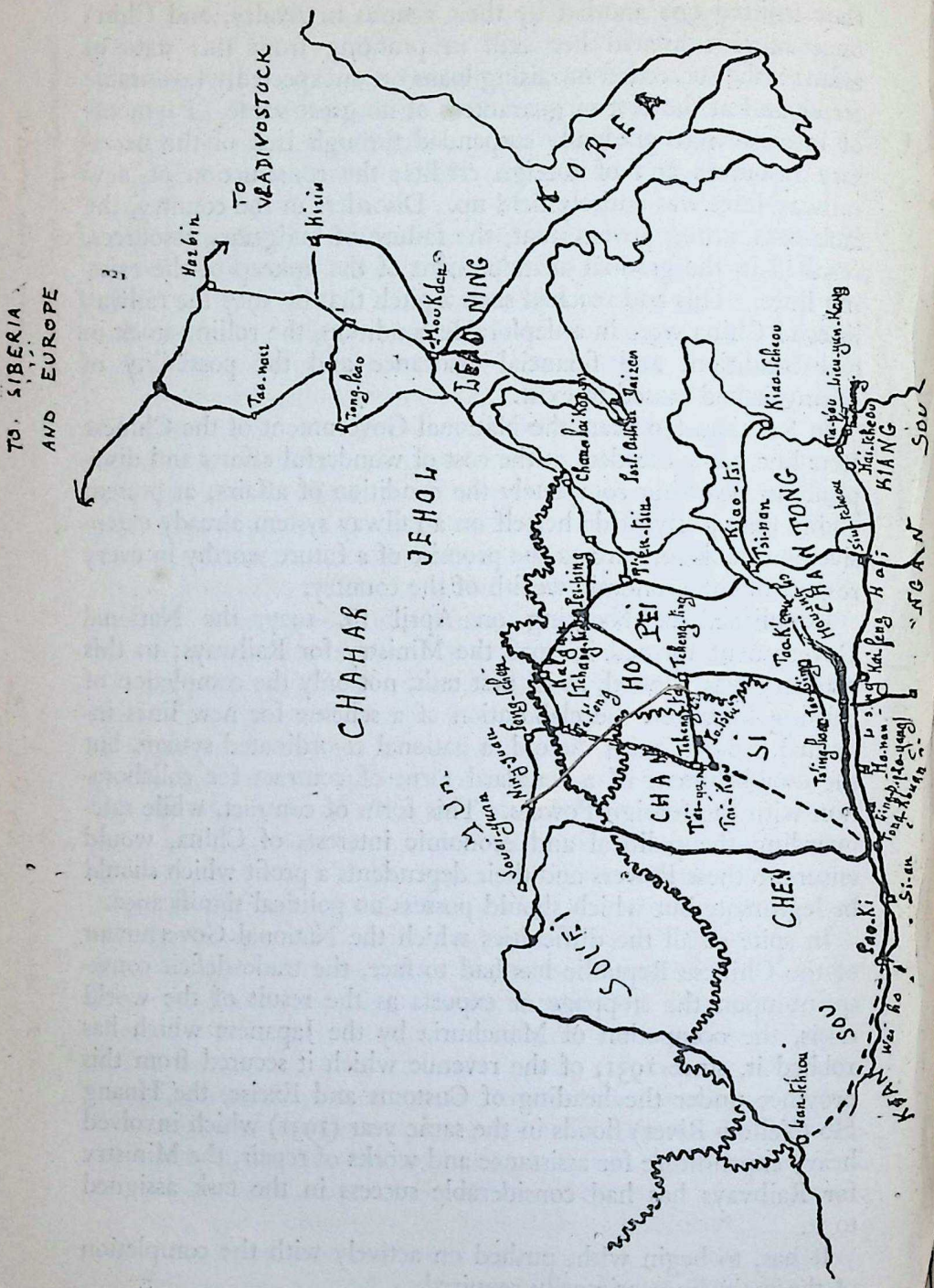
TO SIBERIA AND EUROPE
TO VLADIVOSTOCK
Harbin
Kirin
Tao-Nan
Tong-Kao
Mou-Kden
LIAO NING
KOREA
CHAHAR
JEHOL
Chang-Ka-Kou
Fort. Arthur
Dairen
Kiao-Tchou
Kiao-Tsi
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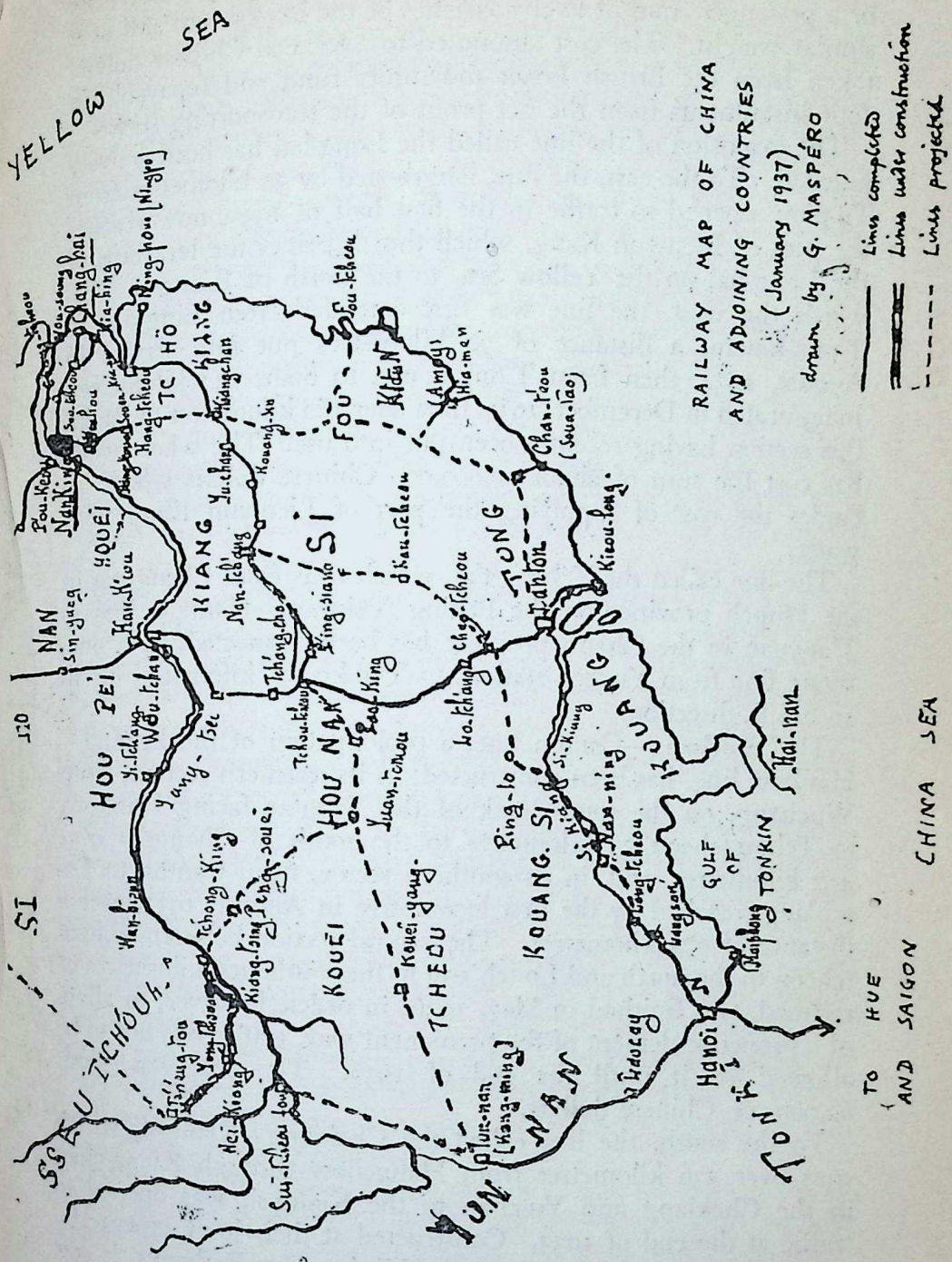
RAILWAY MAP OF CHINA
AND ADJOINING COUNTRIES
(January 1937)
drawn by G. MASPÉRO
Lines completed
Lines under construction
Lines projected
YELLOW SEA
CHINA SEA
GULF OF TONKIN
TO HUE AND SAIGON
Hanoi
Haiphong
Lao-kay
Hai-nan
Kiang-hou [Ning-po]
Kiang-hai
Nan-king
Pou-kiang
Kiang-tchou
Hang-tchou
Kiang-tchan
Kouang-si
Yu-chan
Nan-tchang
Tchang-cho
Kiang-siang
Kiang-si
Fou-tchou
Kien
Amoy
Hia-men
Chan-t'ou
(Swa-tao)
Kieou-long
Canton
Kouang-tong
Kiang-tchou
Chao-tchou
Ho-tchang
Ping-lo
Kouang-si
Kouang-tong
Kouang-si
Nan-ning
Tchou-tchou
Tchou-king
Kouei-yang
Kouei-tchou
Tchen-nan
(Kiang-ming)
Yun-nan
Tchou-king
Kiang-king
Kouei-sui
Kouei
Tchen-tou
Mei-kiong
Sui-tchou
Tchou-king
Yang-tsi
Yang-tsi
Wu-tchang
Yi-tchang
Hou-pei
Hou-nan
Tchou-tchou
Tchang-cho
Kiang-si
Nan-tchang
Kiang-tchou
Kiang-tchou
Kiang-tchou

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of 1,200 ton power, is capable of transporting on each trip from one bank to the other a load of twenty-one 40-ton goods trucks or a passenger train of twelve coaches of the largest size and of a similar weight. The cost amounted to 3,800,000 Chinese dollars taken from the British Boxer indemnity fund and repayable in four instalments from the net profit of the transporting service.

The extension of the line called the Long-hai has been actively pursued. To the east, the line, lengthened by 30 kilometres from Ta-p'ou, opened to traffic in the first half of 1935, now reaches the port of Lien-yun Kang, which thus becomes the terminus of the Long-hai on the Yellow Sea, to the north of Kiangsu. Towards the west, the line was first extended from Ling-pao to T'ong-kouan, a distance of 70 kilometres put into service in August, 1932, then from T'ong-kouan to Sian, 132 kilometres, inaugurated in December, 1934, then over 180 kilometres to Paoki, this section having recently been put into use. The whole work has cost the sum of about 40,000,000 Chinese dollars which includes the cost of supplying the port of Lien-yun Kang with water.

The line called the Tcheng-t'ai, which runs from Chengting in the Hupeh province on the Peking (Peiping)—Hankow line to T'ai-yuan in the Chansi province has been connected, by a one-metre line from Yu-tseu station, to T'ai-ku, 35 kilometres off in an E.S.E. direction.

The Wuchang—Canton line, a prolongation of the Peiping—Hankow line, has been constructed, in its northern section, from Wuchang, on the south bank of the Yangtze facing Hankow, to Tchou-tcheou 35 kilometres to the south of Changsha over 417 kilometres, and, in its southern sector, from Canton to Lo-tch'ang, reached by the first locomotive in August, 1933, over a distance of 274 kilometres. The central section between Tchou-tcheou to the north and Lo-tch'ang to the south, 406 kilometres of railroad, was finished in May, 1936; in order, however, to allow of a proper settlement of the permanent way, traffic was not to be allowed on it until the end of 1936. The cost was about 62,000,000 Chinese dollars.

To the south, the line called the Chekiang—Kiang-si, which runs over 336 kilometres from Hangchow through Kiang-chan in the Chekiang and Yu-chan to the Kiang-si, was opened to traffic at the end of 1933. Constructed at their joint expense by the province of Chekiang and the Ministry for Railways, it cost 13,000,000 Chinese dollars, including a 24-kilometre branch line from the station of Lang-k'i to Kin-hoa. Its extension to Nan-chang, capital of Kiangsi, was officially inaugurated on January 15, 1936. The construction of these 300 kilometres was carried out by the Chekiang Kiangsi Railway Company with a capital of

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16,000,000 Chinese dollars, contributed jointly by the provincial governments of Chekiang and of Kiangsi and by the Central Government. A permit to exploit had been granted to it by the Government. Finally, the sector Nanchang Ping-siang, 300 kilometres in length, is now under construction and will be put into service in 1938. The cost is borne by a chartered company formed under the auspices of the provincial authorities of Chekiang and Kiangsi and of the Minister of Railways; it has a capital of 60,000,000 Chinese dollars, of which 24,000,000 were obtained through public loans issued, in equal parts, by the Ministry for Railways and the provincial government of Kiangsi. Thus the line Hanchow—Kiangchan—Yu-chan—Nanchang will connect, near P'ing-siang, the centre of an important coal-mining district, with the line Peiping—Hangkow—Wuchang—Canton to Tchou-tcheou, situated 35 kilometres to the south of Changsha. The provincial government of Kiangsi proposes to construct another narrow-guage line from Nanchang to Kan-tcheou, which may eventually be taken to Chaochow on the Wuchang—Canton line.

The construction has also been begun of a line to connect Nanking with Canton across the eastern and central provinces of China—Kiangsu, Anhwei, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Fukien, and Kwantung—serving by branch lines the ports of Foochow, Amoy (Hia-men), and Chan-t'eou (Soua-tao). The first sector from Nanking to Souen-kia-pou by Wou-hou, 170 kilometres in length, was opened to traffic on April 1, 1936. At Nanking itself a 16-kilometre connecting line joins the terminus of this line to the terminus of the Nanking—Shanghai line.

The increase of traffic on the Shanghai—Hangchow—Ningpo line and the opening of the Chekiang—Kiangsi line have necessitated the construction of a bridge over the Tsien-tang River; the amount required for its construction have been jointly subscribed by means of a 5,000,000 Chinese dollar loan from the "China Development Finance Corporation" and the "Chinese British Corporation." It is to be about 1,400 metres long with two platforms one above the other, one exclusively reserved for railway traffic, the other consisting of a 6-metre road for vehicles, and on each side of the road a 1·50 metre footpath; it should be completed towards the end of 1937.

A glance at the map of China will show that the railway system of the Republic, as it exists today, still fails to cover, to the west of the main line Peiping—Hangkow—Wuchang—Changsha—Canton, the greater part of the provinces of Hupeh and Honan and the whole of the far-eastern provinces of Kangsu, Szechwan, Kweichow, and Kwangsi. One only among them, the province of Yunnan on the border of Tonkin, has a railway for the export of its products, and this is merely a prolongation of the railway

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system of French Indo-China. From Saigon, the port and capital of French Cochin-China, this line follows the coast of Annam, passes through Hanoi, the capital of Tonkin, and enters the territory of the Chinese Republic to the north of Lao Kay and ends at Kong-ming (Yunnanfu), capital of the province of Yunnan.

But these provinces, from the Chinese economic point of view, are of the first importance. Kansu is the caravan route; by this route, through Lanchow, Kanchow, and Yumen, the "Gateway of Jade," by Kou-tchéng and Ouroumtchi, capital of Sinkiang, trading is still carried on by means of slow-pacing camels, between the eastern Yellow River provinces and the Asia of the mussulman. The Long-hai line actually stops at Pao-ki, about 50 kilometres from the eastern border of Kansu. The Minister for Railways has naturally put the extension of this line on his list of urgent works. Prospecting for it has hardly yet begun. It would appear, however, that the conclusion has already been reached to abandon the line of country originally proposed, which was through P'ing-leang and Tsing-ning by the valley of the River Woei.

In the south, Kweichow is still more cut off from the rest of China owing to difficulties of access presented by the mountain ranges which cover it and by the absence of any navigable river allowing it to be entered.

But, from the point of view of general economic interest, it is the province of Szechwan which should first be opened up. At present its only means of communication with the coast is by the Yangtze, a river difficult for transport and 2,600 kilometres have to be covered to reach the sea. It is still more difficult to return up it because of transhipments required in the middle of the river's course, the rapids and sandbanks in the upper reaches. Navigation is difficult enough when the river is high; it is a still more painful process during the dry season. And yet, while in 1934, according to the statistics of the Customs' authorities, 740,872 tons of goods were brought down to Wan-hien, 392,694 tons were conveyed up to Tchong-king. What a terrific task it must have been. In the Yi-tch'ang sector twenty-four vessels, in the course of one year, 1934, were severely damaged as the result of running on to banks of sand or against rocks in the rapids. The figure for imports from and exports to Szechwan amounts at present to as much as 100,000,000 Chinese dollars, the figure for imports generally exceeding the export figure by about 1,000,000.

The plan of campaign drawn up by the Ministry for Railways has as chief object the removal of the isolation of these western provinces and to bring them into the general economic exchange system of China.

A line from Changsha, which thus becomes the great centre of

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the Chinese railway system, will go through Pao-king to Yuan-chow. In this neighbourhood it will split into two main routes. The first, running in a north-westerly direction, will cross Peng-chouei, reach the Yangtze, which it will cross at Tchong-king, go up the river towards Yong-tchouan and Kiangtsing, and then make towards Tchéng-tou, passing Nei-kiang. The second, running south-west, will reach Kouei-yang, which it will cross, and then continue to Kong-ming, capital of the province of Yunnan.

From Tchéng-tou, capital of Szechwan, a railway will rejoin the line from Long-hai to Pao-ki. And from Nei-kiang, on the line Tchéng-tou—Tchéng-king, a branch line running south will cross Tseu-liéou-tsing, an important salt-mining centre, and, by Sousi-tcheou, will rejoin Kong-ming in the province of Yunnan, where it will connect both the Chinese Kouei-yang—Yuan-techeou—Changsha line with the French Indo-China railway system (Trans-indochinois Yunnanfu Hanoi Hué Saigon).

Finally, Kwangsi will be served by a railway which, starting probably from Chaochow, on the Canton—Hankow line, will run to Nanning, the capital of the province, and connect at Long-tcheou with the Indo-China railway system on the line Lang-són to Hanoi.

Thus Szechwan will be in communication: by Pao-ki with the Hoang-ho railway (Long-hai line), by Yuanchow with the Blue River and south-east China system, by Tseu-liéou-tsing and Kong-ming with the French Indo-China railways which will put it in direct communication with the ports of the Gulf of Tonkin and of the China Sea.

The execution of this enormous scheme, remarkably conceived for ensuring both a reasonable economic exploitation of China and the connection of its national railway system with that of the railways of the world, will commence with the construction of the line Tchong-king—Nei-kiang—Tch'eng-tou, about 600 kilometres in length. The funds required for the purpose, about 45,000,000 Chinese dollars, will be raised under a scheme of Franco-Chinese collaboration, the details of which have been drawn up in a contract signed at the end of 1936. French capital, through a loan repayable in fifteen annual instalments, will supply 8,000,000 Chinese dollars in cash and 27,000,000 Chinese dollars in railway material, the balance—namely, 10,000,000 Chinese dollars—being found by the "China Development Finance Corporation.

The Minister for Railways, who has thus fulfilled the third task which, on the foundation of the Ministry in 1928, was allotted to him, has carefully drawn up the conditions of this collaboration, the success of which he has guaranteed, in the spirit of the instructions given by the founder of the Chinese National

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Republic. Sun Yat Sen was, in fact, fully aware of the magnitude of the effort imposed upon China by an equipment on modern lines which was indispensable for her social and economic development and of the impossibility of her being able to do this with her own resources only. In his view foreign collaboration in China would remain an unavoidable necessity. "Europe and America," he wrote, "are a century ahead of us in the way of industrial development. In order, therefore, to overtake them we must secure the help of their capital and above all of their machinery. If we cannot obtain capital from them, we should at least invite their experts and inventors to come to us, and thus, with their assistance, secure the industrial equipment which we lack." This desire to attract foreign collaboration by guaranteeing a fair profit but to keep it strictly to the limits of industrial and financial activities without it being able to intervene in the sphere of politics, also inspired the Ministry of Railways when the new railway statutes for China were drawn up. Their object may be summarized thus: to give complete security to capital borrowed to assist in the completion of the railway system of the Chinese Republic while at the same time keeping these activities within national bounds.

To guarantee the security of the capital invested, the Ministry has been careful, remembering the saying "exploitation should pay for construction," to include in its plan of campaign only those lines of action which, while meeting as closely as possible the normal requirements of the exploitation and economic development of the country, would enable a productive and rapid return to be anticipated with practical certainty. Further, the Ministry being anxious to retain political and social control of the work, has decided to act itself as manager of the enterprise and itself to exploit the newly constructed lines. By exercising its own control it claims that it can ensure not only the most economical utilization of the capital borrowed, but also the promptest possible repayment under the most advantageous conditions. It is the Ministry which sets to work capital supplied by foreign collaboration and from national sources, the Ministry which controls repayment from the receipts from exploitation, the Ministry which, on its own responsibility, guarantees success.

To facilitate the task it has established, to work with it, a "Commission for the Construction of New Railroads" with four departments, Secretariat, Technical Service, Financial Department, Staff Department, each with its own responsibilities. Finally, under the title of "Reconstruction Loan," the National Government of the Chinese Republic has voted it an "Internal Loan" of 120,000,000 Chinese dollars, the first part of which, 40,000,000, has been issued. Ten million dollars have been

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allotted for the construction of the line Tchéng-tou—Tchéng-king to Szechwan.

Such, in the sphere of railway construction, has been the work of the National Government of the Chinese Republic since its establishment at Nanking. The democratic States cannot do less than offer their congratulations, especially France, which has been enabled to observe the establishment of a still closer economic relationship between the two nations.

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A COMPARISON IN COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT

TRADE IN AUSTRALIAN AND DUTCH NEW GUINEA*

By Dr. W. C. Klein

(Secretary of the New Guinea Committee.)

Much in this article is based on verbal information, which was very liberally supplied to me by my Australian friends during the trip to Australian New Guinea and Papua in 1935. I feel that I cannot mention all their names, but I should quote here at least the Hon. Mac Nicoll and Sir Hubert Murray, the Governors of the Australian territories, as also Dr. Haga, the Governor (Resident) of the Moluccas.

In the present article exports will be discussed first in the following order: Forest products, timber; plantation products, including rubber; animal products; mineral products. Then I shall discuss the imports—viz.: Foodstuffs and luxuries; textiles; tools, ironware, machinery; oils. Finally, the total volume of trade and the export surplus will be considered. It should be borne in mind that this survey deals with conditions during the world depression. The present increase in trade and the effects of the depreciation of the Dutch guilder in September, 1936, are not discussed.

The printed sources for the information required to obtain a good review of the trade of Dutch and Australian New Guinea are more scanty as regards Dutch New Guinea than they are for the Australian side.

We dispose of very good statistics for the Macassar trade, but no figures are published as to the portions of the Macassar trade that relate to Dutch New Guinea. Fortunately the K.P.M. Company (Royal Packet Navigation Co.) and various authorities were very obliging in supplying me with much of the data desired. In comparing the figures for Australian and Dutch New Guinea one is hampered by the various phases in the devaluation of the pound and recently of the Dutch guilder.

The literature consulted is given in a separate list in the original Dutch article, and this list will, of course, be accessible to the English reader also.

In publishing this and similar articles the Netherlands New Guinea Committee, which sent the author to New Guinea, intends

* Based on material that will appear *in extenso* in the handbook in three volumes, entitled *New Guinea*, edited in Dutch under the supervision of the writer by the Moluccan Institute, a branch of the Royal Colonial Institute, at Amsterdam. Volume 2 will appear next August (publisher: De Bussy, Rokin 60, Amsterdam). A very brief résumé was published in the *Pacific Islands Monthly* in Sydney (February 24, 1937).

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to promote an exchange of experiences between Australia and the Netherlands East Indies. The Committee intends to carry out this exchange on a much larger scale by having translations made of the reports about the developments in Dutch New Guinea and by having these published either in Australia or in a special English periodical, which the Committee will perhaps establish later, if funds permit.

Exports

Forest Products and Timber

Here we see marked differences between the two portions of the big island. The Dutch half has a much bigger volume of trade for gum copal, timber, bark, rattan, nutmeg and mace. The values of the exports were in 1935 in Dutch New Guinea, as compared to those for July, 1934, to July, 1935 (briefly to be taken as 1934), in Australian New Guinea:

Gum copal and other gums:		
Dutch New Guinea	1,636	tons
Australian New Guinea	49	„
Timber:		
Dutch New Guinea	445	„
Australian New Guinea	138	„
Bark (including massoi):		
Dutch New Guinea	68	„
Australian New Guinea (Papua only) ...	60·5	„
Rattan:		
Dutch New Guinea	2·4	„
Australian New Guinea	0	„
Nutmeg and mace:		
Dutch New Guinea	574·1	„
Australian New Guinea	0	„

As a rule Papua's bark export was nil, but in 1934 mangrove bark was exported to Australia, mainly from Samarai. Ivory nuts are the only item under the above heading in which Australian New Guinea ranks first, but this is only so because the Solomon Islands belong to the Territory of New Guinea from an administrative point of view.

Ivory nuts:		
Dutch New Guinea, 1935	0 tons	
Australian New Guinea, 1934	24 „	£186.

None of the Dutch or Australian territories export mangrove products like tannin, grass products like paper pulp or sago, but in Papua, I understand, the manufacture of paper pulp will soon start, though not from timber, but from grass (alang-alang or kurukuru).

The total volume of exports of timber and forest products is

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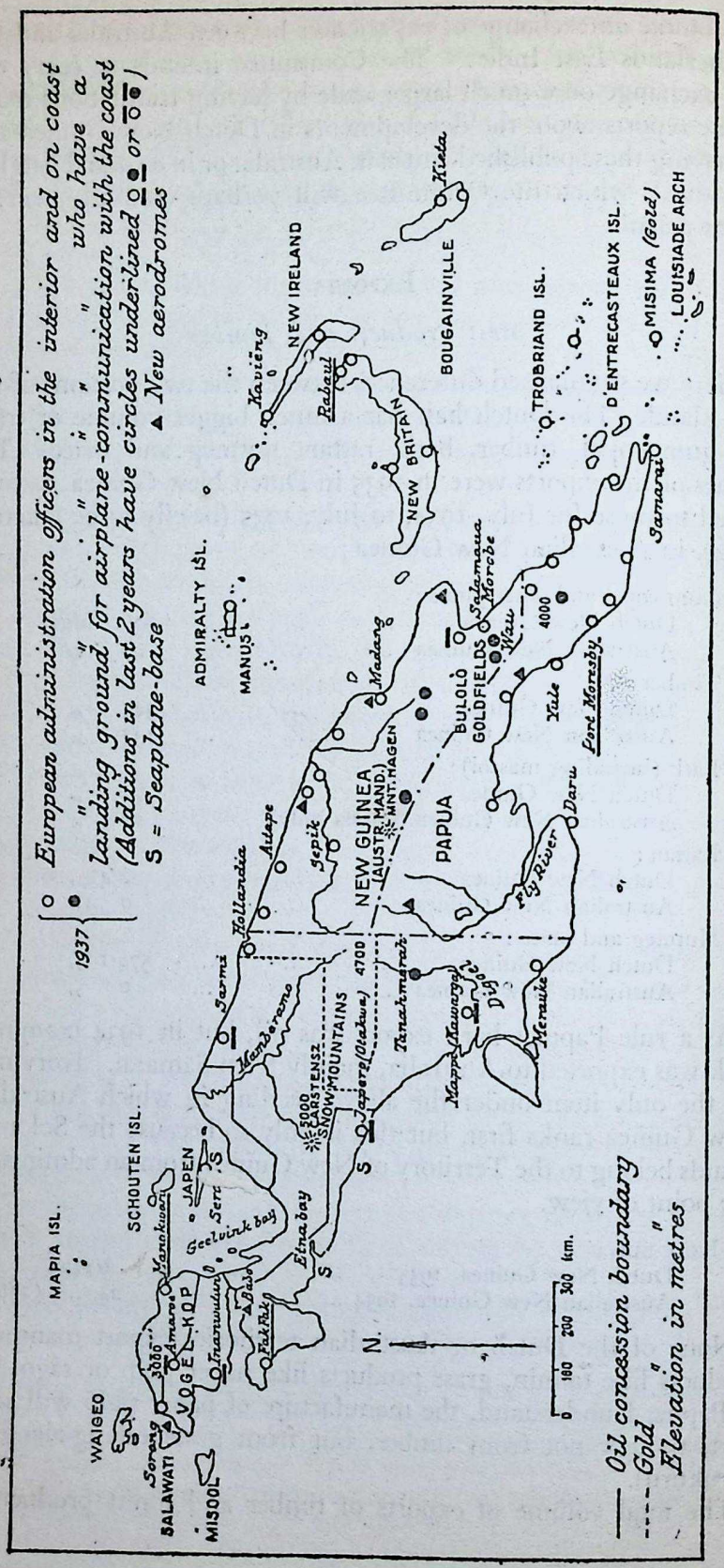

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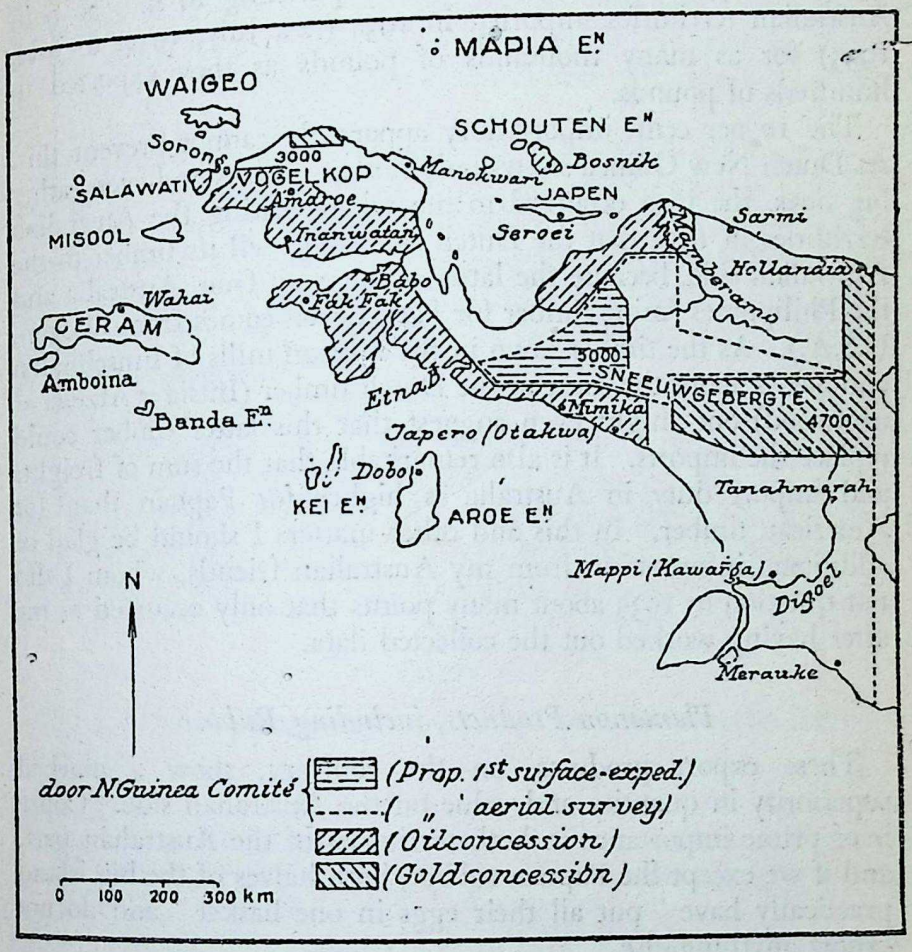
for Dutch New Guinea, 1935, 2,725·5 tons, and for Australian New Guinea, 1934, about 350 tons.

As to gums, bark and rattans I see the main reason for the difference in the fact that the Chinese trader in Dutch New Guinea knows how to induce the native to bring these articles to his trading stations—for instance, by advancing import trade goods to him, and by keeping him in constant debt. Many people think that the small profits which these products yield are more attractive to a Chinese than to the European traders, but this is not



correct, as copal commands a price per ton which is more than double of that of copra, and bark is much more valuable still. Only rattan and timber have a value per ton which is a little smaller than that of copra. The European traders control the entire trade in Papua (where there are practically no Asiatics), and the bulk of it in the Territory of New Guinea, where there remain many Chinese from the German period, who are, however, being restricted as to their places of residence and their trade. Rattan and bark are doubtless exportable in Australian New Guinea in

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big quantities, if we take also the China market into account, which consumes inferior rattan varieties, and if we consider the good shipping communication with China that is available on the Australian side.

As to gum copal and other gums, also in the case of nutmeg, Nature has favoured the Dutch side. Good gum copal rarely occurs in Australian New Guinea, and I know only of trees along the uppermost parts of the Sepik river, located by the Dutch-German boundary expedition in 1910.

As to timber, the situation is very puzzling to me, as both Australian territories imported in 1934 (*i.e.*, July, 1934, to July, 1935) for as many thousands of pounds as they exported in hundreds of pounds.

The 10 per cent. import duty apparently cannot prevent this. As Dutch New Guinea shows only timber exports and even rather big ones, the idea occurred to me when visiting the Australian territories in 1935 that the Dutch side could sell its timber to the Australian side, because the latter now gets it from Australia and the Philippines (mine timber for Papua even comes from Oregon, U.S.A.). As the timber sawn in the mission mills of Finschhafen and Sek is about the same as the Dutch timber (Intsia = Afzelia = ironwood) one might even suggest that this latter timber could replace the imports. It is also remarkable that the sum of freights and import duty in Australia is higher for Papuan than for American timber. In this and other matters I should be glad of additional information from my Australian friends, whom I did not question in 1935 about many points that only occurred to me after having worked out the collected data.

Plantation Products, including Rubber

These export products, on the contrary, show a marked superiority in quantity and value on the Australian side. Copra is of prime importance in both territories of the Australian part, and if we except the Papuan rubber, both halves of the big island practically have "put all their eggs in one basket" and do not export anything else.

Kapoc and Cotton

These are practically not exported from either of the New Guineas, whereas cocoa shows a steady but always small export figure on the Australian side. It is curious that in the Territory of New Guinea the attractive cocoa export premium (bounty) of £14 a ton, the valuable scientific advice of the Government (studies by the New Guinea Department of Agriculture, *e.g.*, those published by Mr. Green) and the volcanic and other good soils available have not been able to lead to an increase of the cocoa exports.

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In the German times (Vitu Island) they amounted already to 135 tons (1913), and this figure has rarely been surpassed since and never after the year 1921 (152 tons). As far as I can see it as a layman the native labour (Kanakas are less intelligent than Accra negroes) is largely responsible, and the latter also accounts for the fact that the few cocoa experiments on the Dutch side were unsuccessful. Australia imports against roughly 100 tons from New Guinea each year more than 5,000 tons from Accra and the West Indies. It is stated that the planting of cocoa during the copra slump of 1932-1934 will result in an increase of the exports of Australian New Guinea to a maximum of 500 tons of cocoa; thus the bulk of the Australian consumption will also in future be derived from other sources.

Rubber is doing well in Papua, and though it is the only commodity that private enterprise would at present like to start on the Dutch side, the international rubber restriction prevents us from doing so. Looking at the absence of restriction in Papua one wonders why the exports did not increase more quickly, and then the lack of a good road leading to the best rubber district (Sogeri) seems the explanation.

Papua exported more than 100 tons a year since 1917; in 1924 it passed the 500 ton mark, and in 1934 the 1,000 ton mark. For this slow increase there may be other explanations beside the above that occurred to the writer, who paid only a short visit to Australian New Guinea, and he is anxious to have additional information for this as well as for every other item mentioned in this article.

Copra

Copra is the main export product, and here we have the following figures:

Copra exports:

Dutch New Guinea, 1935	4,586 tons
Independent Territory of New Guinea (T.N.G.), 1934-1935	56,251 „
Independent Territory of Papua (T.P.), 1934-1935 ...	8,570 „

On the Dutch side a relatively small part comes from European-managed plantations (Wakde plantation near Sarmi, another near Hollandia, some on Misool Island and other adjacent islands, and finally the small plantation of the R.C. mission near Merauke), and the remainder is trade copra; on the Australian side the trade copra (native copra) forms the smaller part; in fact, it forms only 3 to 4 per cent. of the bulk of the copra export.

The Dutch-Australian comparison as to copra indicated by the above figures is not fair, as the bulk of the Territory of New Guinea copra comes from New Britain and New Ireland, whereas islands of similar size near the Dutch New Guinea coast, like Geram and

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Halmahera, are not included in the Dutch figures, as they do not belong to it officially. If we compare only the Dutch and Australian mainland we have for 1933:

Mainland copra:	
Dutch New Guinea	2,350 tons
Australian New Guinea	21,000 ,,

We see that in any case our Australian neighbours are far ahead of us. Doubtless this is due to at least three circumstances:

1. The more reliable labour supply (indentured).
2. The better shipping facilities, except during the period that the Navigation Act was being applied to Australian New Guinea (1921-1926).
3. The close proximity of Australia as a non-tropical territory consuming tropical produce.

In the Dutch territory the native will work no longer than 2 or 3 months average and then leave. Also there is no recruiting of labour in the interior on behalf of the plantations on the coast, which also limits the number of labourers available.

Native copra is being withdrawn from the sales to a greater or smaller extent after each copra slump, at least in Australian New Guinea. In 1920 and 1921 this reaction was very conspicuous in Papua, where the exports of native copra practically dropped to nil, after the fall in price of nearly 50 per cent. in the period 1919-1920. In the Territory of New Guinea the same observation was made (see Annual Reports of both territories).

In Dutch New Guinea and the Moluccas, though the bulk of the export is trade copra, the fall in price influenced the exports of this copra very much less; in fact, the exports from Dutch New Guinea in 1934, the worst year, were equal to those in 1931. The reason is largely that the administration more or less forces the natives to sell their copra to enable them to pay their taxes, which were only slightly lowered during the slump. They have in many areas no other means at their disposal to earn their head tax, as there are very few regular plantations. The Macassar exports, far from showing the influence of the great slump, increased between 1931 and 1934 by about 100 per cent. Nevertheless they consist nearly exclusively of native copra.

The system of marketing the copra is quite different in the two territories; we have successively for our native copra (1) the Chinese trader on the New Guinea coast; (2) the Chinese firm in Macassar; (3) the European firm in Macassar. The two big firms of the Territory of Papua and the Territory of New Guinea, Burns Philp and Co., Ltd., and Carpenter and Co., Ltd., can be compared to (3) if we take Rabaul as the equivalent of Macassar; (2) is always lacking; whereas, in the case of trade copra, (1) if present

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is represented mostly by the European trader or the European planter, who had until 1936, at least in New Guinea, the exclusive right to buy the copra of the native groves adjoining his plantation. The native is paid on both sides in kind, as also the merchant on the coast. In both countries we have merchants travelling around on coastal steamers with a kind of floating shop.

On the Dutch side there is no copra inspection like in the Territory of New Guinea.

The bulk of the Dutch copra is exported to Europe; the United States fell out in the Macassar exports in 1934 in connection with the processing taxes introduced there; in Australian New Guinea the United States fell out about 1930, doubtless as a result of the law that prohibited imports in the U.S. of products made by indentured labourers. As the Molucca copra is all native copra this law did not have any effect on our side.

The ships that carry the copra to Europe nearly all belong on our side to the Batavia freight conference's regular freight lines; real tramps carry only about one-sixth (to Denmark).

On the Australian side tramp steamers play a big rôle and belong chiefly to the London firm of Andrew Weir and Co.; they give a much more regular service than one might expect from tramp steamers.

The enterprising firm of W. R. Carpenter and Co. have introduced their own ships (two of about 6,000 and 7,000 tons) to carry the copra to Europe (W.R.C. Line).

Sisal Hemp and Coffee

These are absent in the list of Dutch New Guinea exports; coffee is gaining a small share in Papua, and sisal hemp was in the past exported from Papua (up to 536 tons in 1919). Apparently the Australian shipping monopoly resulting from the application of the Navigation Act affected this industry in 1922 and 1923, though increased market prices caused a final flicker in 1924 and 1925. The bounty of £6 per ton introduced in 1926 came too late. German New Guinea at one time exported 21 tons in 1912, but this was all.

Desiccated Coconut

This seems a good but also the only example of the successful artificial creation of an industry in Australian New Guinea by means of a protective tariff in Australia. This tariff discriminates, not only against non-British desiccated coconut, but also against the Imperial product as manufactured in Ceylon. The preference is respectively 3d. and 2d. a lb.—*i.e.*, £28 and £18 a ton! In April, 1926, this preference was introduced, and the first exports started in Papua in the same year, and in the Terri-

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tory of New Guinea in 1929. In 1932 the Territory of Papua had reached an export level of 1,228 tons, and the Territory of New Guinea that of 1,282 tons.

These figures have increased only slightly since, as the Australian biscuit manufacturing industry is now entirely served by Australian New Guinea desiccated coconut. The biggest factory at Pondo (New Britain) has 600 native labourers and 9 Europeans, producing 1,200 tons a year. Also the Roman Catholic mission of Steyl (near Roermond) has a factory at Sek (Alexishafen) near Madang on the mainland of Australian New Guinea.

Animal Products

The export of these include the various kinds of shell and bêche de mer (trepang), and before 1921 also bird of paradise feathers.

If we include the Aru Islands in the exports of Dutch New Guinea the comparison is as follows:

MOP shells, troca, and other shells:	
Dutch New Guinea, 1934	609 tons
Australian New Guinea, 1934-1935	505 „
Trepang:	
Dutch New Guinea, 1934	61 „
Australian New Guinea, 1934-1935	98 „

The figures for the Aru Islands in 1934 amount for MOP shell to 505 tons; for trocas, etc., to 5 tons; and for trepang to 40 tons. From this it follows that the exports from Dutch New Guinea proper are relatively small as compared with Australian New Guinea. To my mind, though I may be mistaken, the main cause is the direct relations that exist between Australian New Guinea sellers and Japanese buyers, as also the direct shipping connection. Also the various taxes on our side amount to 15 per cent. of the value to be paid on exporting the shell from Dutch New Guinea, whereas in Australian New Guinea these taxes are much lower (maximum £2 a ton, *i.e.*, about 3 per cent. of the value). The fishing rights of the native inhabitants have been safeguarded only where they really existed to an appreciable extent, and there is no systematic reserving of fishing rights, like on our side, for natives in all the shallow seas of less than 6 fathoms, regardless of the question whether the native avails himself sufficiently of these fishing possibilities or not.

Looking at the figures, produced in the preceding pages, the shell output is apparently incapable of being increased on the Australian side; already in German times exhaustion of the reefs was feared, but they kept up very well, probably thanks to the constance of the quantity fished.

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MOP shell is practically absent in the Territory of New Guinea, and the Territory of Papua only produces some 20 tons annually from the Samarai region (in 1935-1936 this figure dropped to 10 tons).

With regard to the trade in trocas we have already observed that those from Australian New Guinea go to Japan. Of the Dutch New Guinea trocas (or more accurately of the Macassar trocas, including those of Dutch New Guinea) only 15 per cent. goes to Japan and the remainder to Europe.

As to MOP shell trade, it is insignificant in the Territory of New Guinea. Between Papua and Dutch New Guinea there is in this case again a difference; Papua sends most of its MOP shell to London, whereas Dobo (Aru) and Macassar send most of its MOP to New York.

Gold and Copper

These are the only metals exported from Australian New Guinea; in Dutch New Guinea we are just now witnessing a first though very big prospecting campaign for gold.

Copper was only exported from Papua, and the New Guinea Copper Mines, Ltd. once occupied 100 Europeans and 1,000 natives when a big slump in prices came in 1926. The year 1925 saw the biggest exports (11,466 tons, value £201,732), and the industry that originated in 1924 saw its end practically in 1926 (582 tons).

Gold is the most important export item. Papua produced it since 1888, four years after the advent of the British Government in 1884. 1889 was a peak year with £89,000, and after big fluctuations another peak year was reached in 1935-1936 (£82,000). The increase in recent years is due to the hopes of finding fields in Papua similar to those in the Territory of New Guinea, that started production in 1921 or 1922, but jumped up in February, 1926, to very high figures after the discovery of the Ediecreek field. In 1927 £436,743 of gold were exported, and in 1934-1935 the annual output reached the figure of £1,897,244. The year 1935-1936 saw the first decrease (£1,649,788), and the industry seems more or less stabilized.

Anyhow the output in one year in the Territory of New Guinea surpasses the whole production of Papua from 1888 to the present day!

Imports

We will consider first the foodstuffs and luxuries.

Rice

The great importance of the Australian half, as compared to Dutch New Guinea, is clearly shown by the rice imports:

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Rice imported:

Dutch New Guinea, 1935	1,262 tons
Australian New Guinea, 1934	8,837 ,,

Two steamship lines are running between Saigon and Australian New Guinea, but the Dutch line (K.P.M.) has secured practically none of this business.

If one considers that Australian New Guinea occupied in 1934 nearly 40,000 indentured labourers against Dutch New Guinea none, it is surprising that the imports of Dutch New Guinea are still one-seventh of those of Australian New Guinea.

A remarkable feature in Australian New Guinea is the rice import into the interior by aeroplane: 1,500 tons are each year flown from the ports of Salamaua and Lae to the goldfields. Rice in Salamaua costs £18 per ton and in Wau £37; indeed an expensive transport! One wonders why rice-growing in the goldfields has not been tried on a more extensive scale.

Repeated trials to produce rice in the lowlands could not lead to any appreciable production, except at Mekeo in Papua (175 tons a year).

The rice imports into Dutch New Guinea exactly follow the economic depression; rice imports in each port decreased until 1934, and then in 1935 every port showed a rise, which was not so much due to the big explorations for oil and gold, that have just started, because ports without these activities showed this rise just as well. Apparently rice is, on our side, a very good index for the economic position.

Meat and Fish

They belong in the Australian part, where there are 40,000 indentured labourers, to the biggest import items.

Meat and fish, mainly tinned:

Imports in Australian New Guinea, 1934 ...	£50,000
Imports in Dutch New Guinea, 1935	unknown

A big portion of this import goes to the indentured labourers of the Territory of New Guinea at Wau and Bulolo; it is to be anticipated that the meat import can be substituted in the long run by meat from cattle, held on "pastoral leases" which have been granted or applied for to an amount of a few thousand acres.

In increasing quantities tinned fish originates from Japan; the meat comes mostly from Australia, but also from the Argentine and New Zealand.

Tobacco

This item is much more important. In Papua, for instance, it is only surpassed in value by the imports of textiles and apparel,

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and its value exceeds that of rice. The following figures show the distribution over the Dutch and Australian half:

Import trade tobacco:		
Dutch New Guinea, 1935	$87\frac{1}{2}$	tons
Australian New Guinea	126	,,

The figure for Dutch New Guinea is, moreover, too low, as the statistical figure does not include the tobacco sold in Dutch New Guinea by the big "floating shops" on the lower deck of the K.P.M. steamers that serve the Dutch New Guinea ports each month.

Though there are no tariff barriers against the Dutch East Indies all the tobacco imported in Australian New Guinea comes from Virginia (so-called "twisted sticks"), and all the tobacco imported on our side comes from Lombok and Java. An attempt to replace American by Dutch East Indian tobacco has never been carried out, as far as I know, but for many years endeavours were made in Australian New Guinea to manufacture the very popular sticks locally. We must now wait and see whether a recently created factory in Rabaul can drive out a part of the American tobacco. The natives in both New Guineas use and accept tobacco as payment. Australian tobacco is apparently too expensive to be bought by natives.

The import figures clearly show that the Dutch New Guinea native consumes much more tobacco than his Australian neighbour, because the number of the population reached by imports is far smaller on our side, though this is not reflected by the imports.

Textiles (Piece-goods, Apparel, Attire, Drapery Goods)

In the case of this item it is still more obvious than with other import goods, that the Dutch New Guinea statistics are less reliable.

As far as we could ascertain it the position was:

Textile imports:	
Dutch New Guinea, 1935	Fl. 25,000
Australian New Guinea, 1934	£ 70,415

The figures are, however, not comparable, as the Dutch figure should be at least four times as big in view of the large quantities of textiles sold by the "floating shops" on board of the K.P.M. steamers, run by "travelling traders" from Macassar.

Though the figures do not reflect it clearly, it may be stated that per native under Government influence more textiles are imported in Dutch New Guinea than in Australian New Guinea, as in the

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latter country the bulk of the males (in Papua also the females) are not allowed to wear clothes above the waist.

The country of origin for textiles is chiefly Japan, but much more so on our side than in Australian New Guinea; in the latter country the Japanese imports appeared earlier and predominate more in the Territory of New Guinea than in the Territory of Papua, doubtless on account of the better shipping facilities to Japan, of which the Territory of New Guinea disposes. The recent introduction of a Japanese line (Japan-Rabaul-New Zealand) will probably increase the quantity of Japanese imports.

Tools, Corrugated Iron, Profile Iron, Rails, Machinery Apparatus, Appliances (not including Automobiles), Vehicles, Aeroplanes

A reliable Dutch figure is unobtainable, though it would be interesting to have it, as it would reflect more than any other item the big oil exploration activities which started in June, 1935.

Iron, machinery, etc.: Imports into Australian New Guinea, 1934, £129,500.

Roof iron is an index of the number of non-natives (Europeans, Chinese, etc.). Their quarters are always characterized by corrugated iron roofs.

Machinery need only be discussed for Australian New Guinea. It is mainly mining machinery which is imported there, as other industries are lacking, with the exception of small saw-mills, desiccated coconut factories, ice plant, light and power plant in the bigger towns, etc. The country of origin of mining machinery for Papua is Australia, for the Territory of New Guinea it is for the greater part America. The American character of the biggest gold company, the Bulolo Gold Dredging Co., Ltd., is here the governing factor; in Papua all the mining companies are British.

Japan's encroachment upon the imports of all the other countries is not perceptible in the case of ironware and machinery. Even the Kanakas dislike Japanese tools and knives, like all the more intelligent natives of the Moluccas, Fiji, Samoa, etc.

I saw, however, Japanese nails and roof iron in Fakfak in Dutch New Guinea; in Australian New Guinea they are lacking entirely.

The natives of Biak and Manokwari in Dutch New Guinea make their own knives, axes, etc.; they understand the blacksmith's craft since many decades.

Oil

As to kerosene (lighting), Dutch New Guinea is gradually equalling Australian New Guinea with regard to the quantity of the imports. In 1934 the figures for lighting kerosene were:

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Territory New Guinea, 342 tons; Territory of Papua, 133 tons; Dutch New Guinea, 173 tons.

The latter figure was 210 tons in 1935, and will be doubled in 1936.

Benzine, petrol, etc., including aviation gasoline, show the following figures:

Papua, 1934, 954 tons; Territory New Guinea, 1934, 2,746 tons; Dutch New Guinea, 1935 (no figures for 1934), but strongly on the increase, on account of the air survey of the oil concessions of the Netherlands New Guinea Petroleum Co. (see map, p. 569)* by the Royal Netherlands Indian Airways.

The prices of the various oils are higher on our side, which can be partly explained by the heavy excise tax on our side of 13 cents per L. (about 2 shilling per gallon, as 1 L. = 4·5 gallons).

Total Volume of Trade

If we study the figures or estimates available, we see the following for the years 1892, 1905, 1907, 1934 and 1935 (Dutch New Guinea in 1,000 fl., Australian New Guinea in 100 £. 1892 and 1905: £1 = 12 fl.; 1934 and 1935 £1 = 6 fl.

	Total for—					
	Dutch New Guinea			*Australian New Guinea.*		
	Exp.	*Imp.*	*Diff.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Diff.*
1892 ...	462	265	+ 197	+ 35	± 47	− 12
1905 ...	725	288	+ 437	± 135	± 224	− 89
1934 ...	373	828	− 455	2,636	1,128	+ 1,418
1935 ...	506	1,217	− 711			

	Total for—					
	Territory of New Guinea.			*Territory of Papua.*		
	Exp.	*Imp.*	*Diff.*	*Exp.*	*Imp.*	*Diff.*
1892 ...	20	22	− 2	± 15	± 25	− 10
1905 ...	65	144	− 79	± 70	± 80	− 10
1934 ...	2,341	948	+ 1,393	295	270	+ 25

We see from the above statistics that in the period of about thirty years, between 1905 and now, the total volume of the Dutch trade increased some 70 per cent., whereas in the Australian part this increase was about 1,000 per cent. The latter rise was mostly due to the development of the ex-German territory, as here the total trade increased by some 1,600 per cent., whereas Papua's trade quietly rose to about the fourfold (300 per cent.).

* The areas for proposed aerial survey and for surface expeditions have no relation to this article and represent plans propagated by the New Guinea Committee.

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Much more significant is the export surplus. On our side it was big and positive in 1905, and still bigger but negative in 1934; the other two territories show the more normal change from a negative to a positive surplus. If the Dutch had put money in Dutch New Guinea in the past instead of drawing benefits from it, we might have had the same normal course of affairs, as is shown by the Australian territories. Fortunately from the comparison of the years 1934 and 1935 the reader can learn for the Dutch part that we now put every year increasing sums of money into this country. If the statistics for 1936 were available this would come out still more clearly, as in that year Government, oil and gold mining companies all started to spend big sums in this territory, the former to equip some 5 new European and some 25 new native Government stations (see map on p. 568), the latter to bring in aeroplanes, drilling machinery, etc., to explore the mineral wealth (see map, p. 569). It would not surprise the writer if the total volume of trade in the next ten years would approach that of the Australian part; this of course depends much on the result of the oil and gold explorations, as forests and agriculture alone, even if strongly developed, could not make up the difference.

THE HAGUE,

April, 1937.

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THE COMING RURAL HYGIENE CONFERENCE IN JAVA

By A. S. Haynes, C.M.G.
(Malayan Civil Service, Retired.)

Preliminary

From August 3 to 13, 1937, is to be held a Conference of Eastern Nations in Java, to consider rural hygiene on a basis of rural reconstruction. No such Conference in the East has ever been held before, embracing, as this one does, all the countries of Asia together with Australia. This vast area includes more than half the population of the whole world. Ninety per cent. of the people are agricultural. To promote their health and happiness the Conference is being held.

History

In 1931, under the auspices of the League of Nations, there was held a European Conference on Rural Hygiene. At the session of the Assembly in 1932, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Prime Minister of Baroda and representative of India, supported by the representative of China, proposed that, as soon as financial conditions should permit, the League of Nations convene a similar Conference in the East. This proposal was repeated by the same Governments at the Assembly in 1934, and the desire was expressed that the Conference should meet in the not too distant future.

In the meanwhile the Health Organization of the League had been studying the question, and finding that it had evoked interest in Eastern countries decided that the Conference take place in 1937. A preparatory Commission,* appointed early in 1936, made a tour from April to August through India, Burma, Siam, Malaya, Indo-China, the Philippines, the Netherlands East Indies and Ceylon; and it is upon the basis of the Commission's report that the agenda for the Conference has been drawn up. The main heads of the agenda are as follows:

1. Medical and Public Health Services. Organization and Training. Curative and Preventive Action. Finance.
2. Rural Reconstruction. Co-operative Movement.

* The Commission was composed of: Mr. A. S. Haynes, C.M.G., Malayan Civil Service, retired, Chairman; Professor C. D. de Langen, Professor of Medicine at Utrecht, formerly Dean of the Faculty of Medicine of Batavia; Dr. E. J. Pampana, of the Health Section of the League of Nations, Secretary of the Malaria Commission.

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3. Sanitation: Housing; Water Supplies; Disposal of Wastes; Fly Control.

4. Nutrition.

5. Measures for combating Certain Diseases in Rural Districts—*e.g.*, Malaria, Plague, Leprosy, etc.

Any one of these heads is in itself a vast subject when considered in relation to the area of its application—the whole of Asia. Within the limits of this article it is possible to discuss only certain general considerations, with some particular emphasis on finance, on which nearly all projected improvements depend. If these few pages shall succeed in awakening an enlightened interest in this great Conference of Eastern Nations, a step towards the objective will have been made.

Changing Conditions

The agriculturist in the East as in all countries is conservative, not without good reason perhaps. If to this conservatism we add poverty, fatalism, apathy, we seem to get a vision of the unchanging East, a static immobility resistant to the dynamic pressure even of those who wish to help. But however true this picture may have been in the past, or may be today in particular localities, it is no longer a complete picture of the truth. Poverty, malnutrition and isolation may induce fatalism and apathy. These are conditions of environment, and adaptation to environment is a law of all nature. Change the environment, and other changes will follow.

Today all Eastern countries are working towards the removal of poverty, malnutrition, ill-health and isolation. A glance through the list of Government Departments dealing with subjects like Agriculture, Veterinary Science, Irrigation, Education, Co-operation, Medicine and Health, to name only some of them, will reveal these activities and the large sums of money being spent on them. It will be one of the functions of the Java Conference to take stock of the present position, to pool experience and to recommend lines of action.

Changes in world affairs occur rapidly today and their repercussions are felt even in distant villages of Oriental lands. The village is no longer a self-contained unit living by itself, on itself and for itself; it is a small live part of an organic whole. Its fraction of produce may be one of the million units exported for consumption to the other end of the world; and this thin connecting thread of commerce makes it to that extent dependent on the economic conditions of distant countries completely outside its own orbit. Much cotton, jute, rubber, copra are produced on small-holdings. Visualize for an instant the distant peasant on

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his fraction of land; his hard work may produce a good crop, but if world markets are suddenly upset and his produce not in demand it will then and there become worthless to him. A new set of conditions has arisen; the problem is to find a right adaptation to them.

The self-contained village did not progress; it may even have disappeared, being wiped out by malaria or famine. Today its contacts provide great opportunities; but it is clearly the duty of the Governments to guide the peasant wisely so that he may not rashly abandon his rice fields, his food crops, for new products which put money in his hand today, but leave it empty tomorrow. There must be a wise combination of food crops and money crops.

The Response of the Peasant

To what extent can the peasant respond? What does his apathy mean? A Cochinchina report of some years ago well described this apathy: "Ils (les paysans) subordonnent leurs revenus à la satisfaction de leurs infimes besoins. Ils travaillent d'autant moins que leur travail est plus productif; préfèrent l'oisiveté dans la misère à l'aisance par le travail." The Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India (1928) states: "Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture, by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself." It is easy to overstate the apathy case. It is so commonly stated that it is commonly accepted without question; and perceptions are naturally coloured by that which the eyes and other senses are attuned to perceive. It is the experience of the writer during some thirty-five years of life in the East that many things which it was said the Asiatic could never be brought to do are the accepted practices today. Social customs connected with births, marriages and deaths are notoriously difficult to change. Rural indebtedness is commonly due to the force of village opinion which compels the observance of such customs upon a scale for which there is no money; a marriage feast may involve a lifetime of debt. A change in these things was said to be impossible, the visionary heaven of unpractical enthusiasts. But this visionary heaven has in some measure come down to earth. Official reports are little read; let the newspapers speak. In a recent paper from the East we read of specific cases in which the Malays are learning economy (for which they were never famous), that extravagance is being checked and the outlay reduced on marriages and funerals. This is through the instrumentality of Co-operative Societies, called Better Living Societies. These are facts of today, and quite contradictory of the opinions commonly expressed yesterday about the possibilities of co-operation.

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It is easy to find instances of failure amongst Co-operative Societies, especially during the recent years of economy depression; it is equally easy to find instances of failure in industry and commerce on Western lines. Progress is often zig-zag. But on the whole there is gain, and each successive generation starts ahead of its predecessor. The extent to which the peoples of Eastern lands are responding to co-operation is not generally known. It is amazing to read that in 1926-1927 there were in British India some 67,000 agricultural primary societies with over two and a quarter million members and a total working capital of nearly two hundred and fifty million rupees. In 1934 in one Indian Province alone (Bengal) there were nearly 25,000 societies, with a membership of 824,000 and a working capital of one hundred and seventy-eight million rupees.

As regards the peasant himself it is necessary to have abundant faith in him. The attitude of those who would go into the villages and persuade the people to better ways of living and rouse them to the desire to attain a higher standard of health and prosperity is an all-important factor. There is ample room for believing in the response of the peasant; and there is little doubt that the Java Conference will illuminate this view. But spectacular progress must not be expected, although it may come here and there. One generation is a short time in the life of a people.

The Planter

In some countries of the East large plantations of sugar, tobacco, tea, coffee, coconuts, rubber and other products are disseminated through the countryside, interspersed, it may be, with the native villages.

What is the effect of such contacts, and what opportunities do they offer? In the experience of the writer, if the concerns are managed on the right lines, the effect should be mutually beneficial and the opportunities mutually advantageous. Amongst the needs of the native are: Cash for his own requirements and for payment of taxes, improved housing, safe water-supply, better sanitary arrangements for the disposal of waste of all kinds, better and more food and generally the experience of a higher standard of living. All these he will obtain on the plantation. At the same time his occupation will teach him better methods of soil management, of plant sanitation, of cultivating and preparing for market the particular crop. All this will be a part of his environment, and the extent to which he adapts himself will be a measure of the contribution he may make towards the improvement of his own village. Admittedly his contribution is often small, but he himself and his children are stronger and healthier beings. The

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improved methods now common in small native rubber holdings are largely the result of the examples seen on the large rubber estates; and in soil management the Indore process of manufacturing humus on tea estates has spread in some places to the countryside. Again in health matters there can be little doubt that the efficient control of malaria on many of the large estates must have an educational value of no mean compass on the labouring population who benefit by it. In rural reconstruction the existence of such contacts is a useful element.* This will be revealed in any comparison between localities in which they exist and from which they are absent. They can exist without deracinating the native.

The extension of health services in villages is an activity which planters will strongly support. The anopheline mosquito and other carriers of disease do not recognize estate boundaries, and the expenditure of thousands of pounds on anti-malarial or other health measures on estates may be vitiated by the proximity of unhealthy villages. The complaint is often heard that while the Government on the one hand enforces properly the provision of extensive health services on large estates, it on the other hand neglects improperly to provide such health services for the peasant in his village. Such a charge is not without warrant. But there are extenuating circumstances: the area is so vast. Governments are not lacking in will but in money. The difficulties of finance, discussed lower down, will, it is hoped, be carefully considered at the Java Conference.

The Capital of the Cultivator

Soil fertility is the real capital of the cultivator. The preservation of it intact is vital. It is one of the fundamental questions in any consideration of rural hygiene and rural reconstruction. On it, as the main source of nutrition, rests the basis of the life and health of plant, animal and man.

In some tropical countries, notably in Africa, a system of shifting agriculture has been practised. The soil in primæval jungle, uninterfered with by man, maintains fertility by the processes of nature; shifting agriculture fells and burns the jungle, takes the best out of the soil, makes no replacement and moves on to destroy another patch of jungle. In settled communities loss of

* The official Report on the terrible malaria epidemic of 1934-1935 in Ceylon records that the Planting Community there has great resources of ability, public spirit and local knowledge scattered in many remote areas, relates the valuable services of Superintendents of Estates given from a sense of public duty and without remuneration *before the Governmental emergency organization could get going*, and makes specific recommendations for utilizing such services in future emergencies.

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fertility is a more gradual process; it works slowly and almost imperceptibly, but with the inevitability of gradualness, and it may become clearly evident only when it is an accomplished fact. Concurrently with a growing decrease in yield from the land there is a growing increase in the population which the land has to support. In extreme cases fertile land may be turned into desert; in others, the result may be rural decay, extending perhaps to national decay. The case for prevention seems self-evident. And yet there is a strange neglect of warnings even in countries as progressive and scientifically staffed as the United States. An authority states that alternative droughts and floods are perhaps in the order of Nature, but they have been made increasingly destructive by the lack of foresight with which the forest wealth and fertility of the soil have been, and continue to be, exploited. Over-cropping, over-cultivation, over-stocking, the reckless destruction of timber—all this deprives the soil of its protective covering and of its water-holding capacity. During the dry season the top soil becomes powdered, to be swept away by the wind in the dust storms which become increasingly common every summer over large tracts of the country. The soil in its reduced physical condition loses the power to retain moisture and is washed away. A leading American authority estimates that since the country was settled an area has been denuded equal to the total area of cultivated land in Germany.

If the Java Conference can focus interest on such problems in Asia and Australia it will not have been in vain.

How can soil fertility be restored and maintained? The means must be such as will satisfy the requirements of the peasant: means which he has at hand and can therefore afford, and means which he can understand. They must satisfy the demands of common sense, and they must accord with the principles of sanitation. The Chinese have for countless generations maintained a dense population on the land, maintaining at the same time soil fertility. They have attained this by composting. At the Institute of Plant Industry at Indore in Central India, methods of composting have been studied and worked out until there has been evolved the now famous Indore process inseparably connected with the name of Sir Albert Howard.

This process of maintaining soil fertility is based on the natural law of returning to the soil all that is taken out of it. Its unique merit is that it satisfies the demands of both the cultivator and the health officer, and that it relies on means which the peasant has at hand and which he can afford. It is also a process which those who live on and by the land instinctively understand. It is preeminently scientific because it is Nature's own process. It is simple. The composting of wastes of all kind, vegetable and

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animal, rural and urban, and the returning of them to their original home, the soil, is a fruitful field rich in benefit to plant, animal and human health. The disposal of waste products, especially in towns where population is dense, demands a large and costly organization; it begins and ends with waste. If by a process which satisfies hygiene these waste products can be converted into a valuable form of manure, the gain is immense.* The Chinese agriculturist has from time immemorial returned everything to the soil and so enabled it continuously to support a teeming population for thousands of years; but his methods are not sanitary. The Indore process fulfils all these demands without defect. It is based on simple biochemical principles, by which all kinds of wastes are composted to form humus; and it lends support to the view that soil fertility is ultimately the foundation of quality and disease in crops, in the animals which consume those crops and in the human beings who feed on both. It is being widely adopted to correct that impoverishment of the soil which is a potent factor in faulty nutrition with resultant disease in plants, beasts and men.

Nutrition is one of the most important subjects on the agenda of the Conference, but no consideration of it will be complete without reference to the earth out of which all forms of life are created and to which they must return.

Finance

The 1931 European Conference on Rural Hygiene recorded the following conclusion about budgets:

> "In view of the wide variation in health programmes in the different countries and the considerable difference in local conditions, it is not possible at present to recommend a model budget for a rural health district or to state what should be the *per capita* expenditure for health purposes. It is also impossible to decide on the percentages of the budgets of States, provinces, districts and communes which should be allocated to the health services."

This is common sense. It can be accepted as regards Eastern countries also.

One of the most difficult tasks for the delegates at the Java Conference will be to find an answer for the common objection to every improvement "That will cost more money. These demands are interminable. Where is the money to come from?"

Picture a teeming race of poverty-stricken peasants, apathetic

* Under this process even pests like the water-hyacinth, which chokes up whole rivers, can be made use of.

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and indolent from malnutrition, malaria and general ill-health. More money wanted for all the services which will reconstruct the countryside and for the roads and bridges which will open the way, and every department of Government asking for more staff. The revenue can be increased only by further taxes on a penniless people. It seems almost hopeless. What is the answer?

No Central Government can be expected to bear the burden of caring for the health and welfare of the whole population. There must be help from local bodies and from voluntary organizations. The members of the preparatory Commission were privileged to see and hear of the extremely valuable work being carried on by many of the non-official agencies. They include all those voluntary bodies, associations, societies, organizations, missions and individuals who are working towards the common end of rural reconstruction. Their unselfish labours are of the greatest value. They supply that diversity of treatment which is required by diversity of peoples and conditions; their small units are elastic and capable of rapid adjustments where found necessary in a way which is not possible to a less flexible State organization functioning over a vast area. At the Conference at least one of the delegates will be from such a body.

Official funds for health work in rural areas are usually derived in varying proportions from the State, the province and the district with its subdivisions. In the initial stages, or in poor districts, the State will have to provide the largest proportion, but it is advisable that the principle of local support should be inculcated whenever possible and that the proportion contributed locally should gradually increase. While it is the function of the State to lay down policy and to secure a reasonable uniformity and continuity, it is considered that the greater interest taken in health work when administered locally enables funds in support of the programme to be obtained more readily. Generally speaking, to provide an adequate health service, local units must bear some part of the State's financial burden. Private health agencies can also shoulder a part of this burden. Article 25 of the Covenant of the League of Nations specially provides that:

> "The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world."

There are various other means by which finance may be assisted. First of all there is the increase of wealth or resources by enhancing income and reduction of waste. In countries predominantly agricultural, such policy must have a rural bias. The pro-

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motion of soil fertility by a natural method such as the Indore process in combination with improved varieties of crops giving much higher yields will enhance the national income at its source. Other productive improvements are irrigation projects, and in some countries the consolidation of holdings from which increased land revenue results.* Hydro-electric power schemes can help in relieving economic poverty in rural areas; they will provide power for lift irrigation from existing wells. Rural water supplies reduce sickness and mortality figures, increasing economic man-power and converting loss into profit. In the Netherlands Indies a remarkable feat has been accomplished out of rubber restriction: a sum of about eighty million guilders, accumulated from the special export duty on native rubber, is being utilized to to provide roads, bridges, health and other services for the sole benefit of the peasantry who contributed it.

There is also the question of obtaining better value in the expenditure of public money. With limited funds it is an unwise use of money to sink it in the construction of buildings unnecessarily large, elaborate or permanent, particularly in rural areas, where a simpler building put up by the local peasantry, of their own local materials, may be equally efficient. The saving on construction will release money for works of health and sanitation. This method will also have the effect of educating the people to a sense of true values, and showing them that health is more important than bricks and mortar.

Mention may also be made of small self-supporting agricultural colonies for mental patients; improved communications and transport facilities for the benefit of the agricultural producer; funds for specific purposes made available by the governing or protecting power such as the Colonial Development Fund of nearly one million pounds annually employed in making grants or loans to territories under the Colonial Office; sickness insurance if it were possible to apply it, in some partial form, to Eastern countries.

There are doubtless other aids to finance which the experience of the participating nations will reveal to the Conference. There is no need to take a pessimistic view. Means will be found. But the most fundamental point of all is the necessity for the Governments, responsible as they are for the happiness and welfare of the individuals composing the State, to realize in practical form that

* In the Punjab Province of India fragmentation rendered 5 per cent. of the holdings useless for agriculture and absorbed 1 per cent. in boundaries. More than 600,000 acres have been consolidated at a small and gradually decreasing cost per acre, with the following advantages: Straightening of boundaries; improvement of holdings from an uneconomic to an economic size; provision of land for schools, recreation grounds, roads, proper ponds, manure pits and other requirements; model villages produced out of previous waste and confusion; increased land revenue.

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almost the greatest contribution which can be made towards that happiness and welfare is the attainment of health. The health of the rural population must be in the forefront of the programme, and financial provision must be made for the services adequate to secure and maintain it. It is, we believe, correct to say that hitherto there has been insufficient weight attached to this in the preparation of the budgets of States. And today, when expenditure is rising in many directions, the difficulty will be urged that it is hard to find the money. But every difficulty can be overcome by a determination to overcome it. The determination must be made more powerful than the difficulty. The Conference, if it agrees with this view, has the unique opportunity of pressing, with the force which the unanimity of so many different States' representatives must command, its adoption by each individual State concerned.

Finance is "bifrons": it faces both ways. It is at once the limiting factor, and therefore the bogey; and it is the golden key, the "open sesame" which makes everything possible.

The limitations of space make it impossible to touch on many of the great problems to be studied, such as malaria, that great scourge of the tropics, and the pooling of experience in the administrative as well as the technical field, which was so strongly advocated by M. le Neveu recently in the ASIATIC REVIEW.

SIMPLICITY AND FUNDAMENTALS

There is perhaps a danger today of too much complexity, the common reproach of learning more and more about less and less. It is possible to flounder hopelessly in morasses of statistics, to be fogged and bogged in the mists and masses of reports, to lose direction in the myopy of the microscope. There is a need to get back to the simplicity of fundamentals, to see life steadily and see it whole. The "mellow glory of the Asiatic stage" (if a slight misquotation be forgiven) may perhaps be found in Java.

A Malay proverb says: "Biar lambat asal selamat"; which may be translated, "There is no hurry provided you are on the right road." To show that road is the task of the Java Conference.

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THROUGH THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS AND THE ARMENIAN CILICIAN KINGDOM

By E. H. King

At the conclusion of an article which I contributed to the Asiatic Review in April, 1936, descriptive of a journey through the Soviet Republic of Armenia, I touched upon the emigrations westwards towards the region of the Taurus Mountains in Cilicia which supervened upon the downfall of the Armenian Kingdom, and of the subsequent formation, under one Reuben in the year 1080, of the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia or Armenian Cilician Kingdom.

In the following pages I propose to lay before the reader an account of the journey I undertook during the early spring and summer of last year through the very heart of this forgotten land, but inasmuch as the localities visited in the course of my travels do not, unfortunately, conveniently lend themselves to a chronological sequence of events (in fact, rather the reverse) it appears desirable to preface this article by a brief historical outline of the occurrences which gave rise to the formation of, together with a few general observations concerning, the Armenian Cilician Kingdom which will be amplified later as I proceed.

During the distressful periods which so frequently recurred in the history of their country even as far back as the fifth century, numbers of Armenians had emigrated to various parts of Asia Minor, and colonies sprang up in the regions of Cæsarea, Sivas, Albistan, and in Cappadocia generally. When, however, the city of Ani, the former Armenian capital, fell to the Seljouki Turks, under their enterprising Sultan Alp Arslan, in the year 1063, and when, following upon the sacking of the capital by his ferocious hordes, the Sultan proceeded to drive the Armenians from their plains westward even as far as the town of Melasgerd north of Lake Van, the numbers of emigrants perforce vastly increased. Actually at the time of its capture Ani was manned by a Byzantine garrison since Gaghik II., last of the Armenian Kings of the Bagratyd Dynasty, had, in the year 1045, been tricked by the Greek Emperor into exchanging his capital for lands on the frontiers of Cappadocia and a palace in Constantinople, and this year thus witnessed the actual decline of the ancient Armenian Kingdom. The exiled and unfortunate King Gaghik was subsequently murdered by the Greeks near the fort of Kizistra in Cilicia in the year 1079, which fate he had rather brought upon

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himself since a short time previously he had visited the Greek Patriarch Marcus in his palace at Cæsarea (one of the bitterest of the persecutors of the Armenians) and at the conclusion of a doubtless excellent meal, caused his servants, upon a given signal, to seize the unsuspecting prelate, together with his large dog (which was contemptuously called "Armenian"), and to fasten them both securely in a bag which had been hitherto concealed. They then proceeded to rain blows upon the innocent animal which, not unnaturally, thereupon turned upon its master and bit him to death. This unfortunate event indirectly gave rise to the formation of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom, since after the vengeful murder of Gaghik, Reuben, his cousin, the founder of the dynasty bearing his name, fled into the Taurus Mountains and established himself in a fastness known as Pandzerpert, where he subsequently gathered about him many of the more adventurous and warlike of the Armenian emigrants.

From the small principality thus formed in the heart of these wild mountainous regions, which had been largely depopulated during the earlier Arab occupation, was evolved the Lesser Kingdom of Armenia. Although they had formed a friendly alliance with the Crusaders who passed through Cilicia in 1097, the Armenian Monarchs, during the 300 years of the existence of the Kingdom, were surrounded by hostile peoples and were almost continuously engaged in warfare with Greeks, Arabs, Persians, Turks, and Egyptians with varying fortunes, in consequence of which the limits of their dominions were constantly changing, sometimes being extended beyond the boundaries of Cilicia westward into Isauria and northwards into Cappadocia, whilst at other times they were confined to the mountain fastnesses themselves. Of the ultimate decline of the Kingdom I shall write later.

Before ever quitting these shores it was made abundantly clear to me that the intending traveller in the remote regions of Anatolia must be in possession of something else besides a passport. He must, in effect, carry an official introduction from some *Turkish national* to the Ministry of the Interior at Ankara, who alone can overcome on his behalf the official obstruction which would otherwise be encountered at the very outset of his journey, and furthermore he must state his motive in desiring to travel away from the main lines of communication. Having, by good fortune, been most kindly favoured with the necessary introduction, I presented myself to the appropriate department in the capital, and, being provided with tangible proofs of my occupation as a journalist, I was able to satisfy the officials upon the latter score. Once the ice had been broken, so to speak, nothing could possibly have exceeded the kindness and courtesy of the Turkish authorities, who forthwith telegraphed to the Valis, or

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governors, of the vilayets through which my journey lay, requesting them to afford me all possible assistance. Here also I gladly express my gratitude to the staff of the British Embassy for all the hospitality they showed me and for the kindly interest they displayed in my journey, their only regret being that they were unable to be of assistance to me in an official capacity. I had, in my ignorance, always imagined that ambassadorial staffs must be rather formal gentlemen who would scarcely have the time or inclination to concern themselves to any extent with a lone traveller bound for the wilds. Now I know better!

Having left the bulk of my luggage at Ankara, I set forth by a night train for the town of Cæsarea (or Kayseri), which lies some 300 miles south-east of the capital, and arrived early upon the following morning, being the 29th of May. It came as a pleasant surprise to be greeted at the station in atrocious English by my arabachi, or cab driver, a rotund, rollicking, jocular individual, who was at pains to explain to me from the "box" seat of his decrepit vehicle, that he had been captured by our forces during the Palestine campaign, and it came as a still more pleasant surprise when, upon arrival at what Baedeker would describe as the "unassuming" Hotel Istanbul, he flatly declined to accept any remuneration for his services on account of his high opinion of the British people and their considerate treatment extended to prisoners of war.

Cæsarea was not only the most convenient centre from which to set out on my journey southwards, but is also an old walled town of great charm and historic interest, possessing important Armenian associations. The earliest city, known by the name of Mazaca, lay about a mile south of the present town between two spurs of Mount Erjeus (the ancient Mons Argæus, 13,100 feet) at a height of 3,500 feet. The name was derived from one Mosoch, the legendary ancestor of the Cappadocian race, and the city constituted the seat of their Kings as early as 600 B.C. Its importance largely waned during the sweeping westward conquests of Tigranes the Great, between 90 and 69 B.C., who raised the Armenian Kingdom to the height of its prosperity and power, and who deported many of the inhabitants to his new city of Tigranokerta in the south. Later, under the Roman Empire, Cæsarea recovered its importance in a large measure, and it was from the Emperor Tiberius that it received its present name at the time of his conquest of Cappadocia. Christianity was doubtless introduced here at a very early date (1 Peter i. 1) and it was as a great Christian Metropolis that the city acquired its fame. St. Gregory the Illuminator, patron saint of Armenia, of whom I wrote in my former article, was carried here as an infant from his birthplace at Vagarshapat by his nurse Sophia and her brother

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Euthalius in 257, and was baptized, educated, and ultimately consecrated Bishop of Armenia by the Patriarch Leondius of Cæsarea in 300 A.D. I sought in vain for any recognizable remains amongst the hoary fragments of walls which, together with innumerable skulls and bones, lie scattered on the hills deploying to the south of the town, and with the exception of Mount Erjeus itself, there exists no feature on the landscape upon which the Saint must once have gazed.

The present day town (Fig. 1) actually dates from the time of St. Basil the Great, who was born in Cæsarea in 329 A.D., becoming its Bishop in 370, and who erected churches, an orphanage, and a fine bishop's palace, but here again practically all traces have disappeared since, in the time of Justinian, the city was largely rebuilt and refortified. It fell to the Seljouki Turks in 1064, and, as seen today, the walls and the fine old castle, partly built on the foundations of Justinian's day, together with the beautiful Huyant Mosque, represent the work of that famous Seljouki Sultan Ala-ed-din Kai Kubad I. during the thirteenth century, restored in 1577 under the Osmanli Turks.

I am open to correction, but I believe the Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator in the southern quarter of Cæsarea to be the only Armenian church in Anatolia where services are still conducted. Erected in 1856, it presents, as might be expected, a rather tawdry appearance today, but the Gregorian priest, whom I visited, still contrives to minister to the 2,000 odd Armenians who (out of a population of 70,000) inhabit the town. Upon his death the church will be doubtless either closed or pulled down as was the case a few years ago with the fourteenth-century church of St. Sarkis.

At Evkeré, about 10 miles north-east of Cæsarea, lies the great monastery of St. John the Baptist, which, for many centuries, constituted the summer residence of the Armenian Archbishop. According to tradition, it was founded by the Patriarch Leondius in the fourth century, who is said to have here consecrated St. Gregory as Bishop of Armenia, although, according to another version, the actual church stood on the site of a mosque in the village of Hisarjuk south of the remains of the earliest city; either locality may be the correct one or possibly neither! In any event, the original little Greek Church attributed to St. Leondius has, I understand, been preserved amidst the monastery buildings. The Armenians first occupied the domain in 1079, which is picturesquely situated on the side of a hill, and enlarged it enormously, particularly at the time of Archbishop Karamanian from Talas in 1779, and more recently in 1913 by Bishop Terdat from the same town, who added the school buildings. The clergy and monks only left Evkeré as recently as 1928, although on four

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previous occasions they had been ejected and later permitted to return. The buildings are now used for military purposes, and I was only allowed to view them from without.

A shrine within the erstwhile monastic domain encloses the traditional tomb of the Baptist (Fig. 2), which is still periodically tended by a priest; it was formerly the scene of important pilgrimages upon June 24 and August 29, being the feast-days of the Saint.

In the same valley I visited the erstwhile monastery of St. Daniel, the cells of which are hewn out of the rock. Tradition assigns it to the Apostle St. Thaddeus, who travelled from Palestine, through Armenia into Cappadocia, between 35 and 43 A.D. A tomb within this monastery is supposed to be that of King Oshin, who reigned over the Armenian Cilician Kingdom between 1308 and 1320. If this be so, which I greatly doubt, then Oshin must have been buried, for no apparent reason, outside the confines of his kingdom and far from his capital where his predecessors were interred. Frankly, I am inclined to accept both of these traditions with the proverbial "grain of salt"!

Before leaving these regions for the Taurus Mountains I accepted, most gratefully, an invitation to spend a few days at the American College at the small town of Talas situated about 7 miles south of Cæsarea, and curiously constructed upon the side of a cliff, many of the older dwellings being rock-hewn. Talas was a flourishing centre in Byzantine days and was once the home of St. Saba, the founder of the celebrated monastery near Jerusalem.

The American College, standing at the summit of the town, originated in the Protestant Girls' School, founded in 1886. Today a general, strictly secular, education is provided under the energetic direction of its principal, Mr. Paul Nilson, which is attended by some 30 Turkish and Armenian students, and a splendidly equipped workshop serves to provide them with a trade at their fingers' ends.

To Mr. Nilson and to Dr. and Mrs. Nute, under whose hospitable roof I stayed, I owe a debt of gratitude which I can never hope to repay, for all their kindness and invaluable advice. Their contention that they were only too happy to welcome one of their own folk into their lonely life seemed to me quite beside the point.

About 1½ miles east of Talas, and situated in the heart of a profound and narrow ravine, being reached by a pass running halfway up and along the side of the cliff, are the remains of the Armenian monastery of Derevenk. Like that of Evkeré and at Tomarza (which I visited later), it is of Greek origin, having been founded and dedicated to the Holy Trinity by St. Basil himself in the year 363. The Armenians occupied it in 1516, re-dedicating it to St. Sarkis, re-building the church and adding a guest-house

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and picturesque archway across the narrow pass, the latter being the only piece of masonry now remaining, since, although the monks only left in 1920 (Mr. Nilson remembers them well), the buildings were subsequently destroyed. The cells hewn in the cliff-side still exist, being far more extensive than those of the monastery of St. Daniel, and by the light of a torch I traversed them, emerging into the open through a large cave-chapel situated beneath the spot where the church formerly stood.

The Vali at Cæsarea (governor of the vilayet of Kayseri), a dapper, efficient little man, upon whom I called prior to my departure, entered with interest into my projected journey across the Taurus Mountains. He spoke fluent French, for which I was thankful since my knowledge of Turkish is negligible, and kindly offered to place at my disposal a police official who, likewise, conversed in the former tongue, it being understood that he was to accompany me only so far as I was able to proceed by car, and having regard to the recent heavy rains, I entertained no grounds for undue optimism on this score! The Nahiehmudir or local governor of the province of Talas had expressed a great longing to visit his numerous relatives in the village of Tomarza (where I had proposed to pass the first night) whom he had not seen for 13 years, and as he assured me of overflowing hospitality on their part I somewhat reluctantly agreed to his request, for he was no lightweight, and my driver was already carrying a mechanic, so that we now numbered five in all, including the police official.

Armed with a precious document with which the Vali had provided me, addressed to all and sundry headmen of the villages and encampments in the mountains, requiring the provision of food, shelter, guides, and transport on my behalf, I set forth on the morning of June 15 in a due southerly direction, crossing the Tekir Pass, which traverses Mount Erjeus at a height of almost 8,000 feet. A heavy hailstorm overtook us on the pass, obscuring what must have otherwise proved a fine view of the summit and of the surrounding landscape. Descending across the southern slopes of the mountain we soon reached the small town of Everek, but apart from its rather delightful situation amidst extensive gardens, it possesses no special attraction unless the ascent of Erjeus is contemplated, for which it forms a convenient base. An araba (cart) track running due east from Everek across the plateau leads to the village of Tomarza, about 30 miles distant from Cæsarea, where we arrived without mishap at approximately midday.

Tomarza will ever live in my memory by reason of the seraphic vision which confronted me from a balcony of the long, low, ramshackle house within whose walls dwelt I know not how many of the Nahiehmudir's brothers, uncles, nephews, and cousins, but

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how gladly would I not have exchanged the long and tedious hours of polite conversation to which I had perforce to submit, interspersed with the prodigious quantities of food and Turkish coffee so lavishly and hospitably spread before me for one blessed half-hour in the company of the entrancing Juliet, who had bestowed upon me so devastating a smile of welcome! Alas! as I well knew, it was not to be, and I only beheld my "Angel of Tomarza" once again on the following morning at an early hour when I was about to enter the car on my departure; there she stood, clad in a rough magenta smock and surrounded by a group of the womenfolk of the house, ravishingly lovely as ever (in fact, "a veritable rose amidst the cabbage patch"), and with a parting and collective "Allaha ismarlidik" I was swept from the realms of romance into those of stern reality! From which very personal digression the reader must have assumed that, although the veil be no longer compulsory, and is, in fact, only today worn by the more aged, yet the segregation of the women is still strictly observed as of yore in the more remote villages, whereas, as is well known, their complete emancipation now so largely prevails in the town and cities. For this reason it would have been considered highly improper had I, as the guest of honour (and a Christian at that), betrayed the slightest curiosity or interest in those whose sole province was to minister (invisibly!) to my creature comforts!

At the time of the adoption of Christianity by the Greeks, a "baptismal pool" is believed to have existed on the outskirts of Tomarza, near which seven great crosses were erected, the upper arm of one of which protrudes above the ground today. In the year 1065 the Armenian King Appasian of Kars (in Eastern Anatolia) occupied this region and probably added the Armenian inscription seen thereon. He also erected three churches side by side, a large one in the centre dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and two smaller ones to St. Peter and St. Paul respectively. Monastic buildings and a school were added within the present generation, and Tomarza became renowned as an important pilgrimage centre, since upon August 15, in commemoration of the Assumption of Our Lady, hundreds of Armenians gathered here annually until the monks were ejected, within the last decade. In all probability the "baptismal pool" originally owed its inception to some sacred association connected with the Blessed Virgin.

My next objective was the "Comana Cappadociæ" of bygone days, or "Golden Comana," as it was styled in the time of Justinian, and which lay some 40 miles eastward within the Anti-Taurus range. The condition of the track from Tomarza only too speedily justified my apprehensions since within 5 miles of the village the car became embedded axle-deep in thick glutinous

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mud, from which our combined efforts were only able to extricate it after a delay of nearly two hours. When, however, as we neared the village of Suwangen, scarcely 2 miles further on, a similar fate befell us, I realized that the time had now arrived to discard this luxurious mode of transport for others more befitting the nature of the country I was approaching, the more so as I was informed that the Zamanti River on which the village lay had overflowed its banks and become quite impassable. Accompanied by the police official, therefore, I now sought out the Mukhtar, or headman, and explained the position to him, when it transpired that all the flocks and cattle belonging to the village were located upon grazing land in the hills to the south. My escort, being now assured of additional energy on the part of lusty villagers in coping with our mud-logged vehicle, I therefore bade them farewell, and, in company with a Yuruk tribesman as guide, set off on foot for the "yaila" or summer encampment of these nomadic folk, which lay over hill and dale some four miles distant. The Turkish tribes inhabiting the regions of the Taurus Mountains today consist for the most part of the entirely pastoral Yuruks, who own large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats, the Turkomans who are partly pastoral and partly agricultural, and who carry on most of the now largely diminished camel transport, and, to a considerably lesser extent, the Avshars, who originally emanated from north-west Persia, but who were driven out by the Circassian immigrants after the Crimean War, and who then settled upon the slopes of the Anti-Taurus range. I also encountered more than one group of Kurds, whose true country, however, is in Eastern Anatolia, particularly in the region between Erzerum and Lake Van.

Upon arrival at the "yaila" I was able to procure an ox-cart upon which to resume my journey, for I was anxious to reach the Dedi Bel Pass upon the western slopes of the Anti-Taurus before nightfall. Should the reader ever find himself constrained to travel by one of these crude two-wheeled contraptions, let me advise him to ensconce himself well out of range of the ox's tail, *particularly as the journey proceeds*, since the beast has a playful habit of twirling this portion of its anatomy with devastating effect, necessitating in my own case copious ablutions in a (providentially) nearby mountain stream!

The approach to the Dedi Bel Pass necessitates a precipitous ascent of from 4,550 feet to 8,600 feet, and is used by the natives as a short cut, particularly when travelling from Albistan westward across the Anti-Taurus to the Tomarza district; it is more suitable for pack animals than for the ox-cart, and I proceeded on foot when we entered the rocky gorge leading to my destination, since, quite apart from the relief afforded to the oxen, it would

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have proved a physical impossibility to have kept one's seat owing to the swerving and jolting which occurred as boulder after boulder was traversed! The hamlet of Dedi Dibi, which I reached as darkness was falling, lies just beyond the Pass, and I was hospitably received by the Mukhtar; it consists of a cluster of flat-roofed stone dwellings and long, low tents of dark brown goat's-hair cloth, such as are in common use among the Yuruks (the circular dome-shaped "yurts" are more commonly encountered in the Turkoman encampments). I was soon ensconced upon a plump mattress and surrounded with cushions within one of these latter, being subsequently served with an evening meal, which was repeated with deadly monotony at every encampment or native "khan" which I visited during my journey through the mountains, and to which subsequent reference need not therefore be made! The bread, which is of a dark colour and somewhat gritty, is rolled into what resemble enormous pancakes, and can be laid across the lap in the manner of a serviette! The staple diet is the ubiquitous "pilav," a dish composed of rice and small pieces of meat (usually palatable), and which may be washed down by spoonfuls of "yaghourt" (curdled milk). Eggs are only occasionally obtainable, but goat's milk cheese is invariably produced, as is also Turkish coffee, to which latter I am, fortunately, extremely partial, although I never succeeded in acquiring a taste for "yaghourt."

The Anti-Taurus Mountains constitute an offshoot of the East Taurus proper and consist of two distinct ranges. The western range breaks away from the Taurus close to Bakir Dagh (or Copper Mt.), and runs in a north-easterly direction, various sections bearing distinct names, whilst the eastern range is known by the name of Binboa Dagh throughout and runs due north, both eventually becoming merged in the high ground north of the town of Azizieh. The two ranges are divided by the valley of the ancient River Sarus, now known as the Geuk Su, which, after receiving the waters of the Zamanti and other streams, enters Cilicia in the south as the River Sihun.

After some difficulty I secured horses in the morning and set off at an early hour in an easterly direction across the Sarus valley, which now opened out before me, and which constitutes, without question, one of the most historic regions in the whole of Anatolia. In bygone days the existence of "Golden Comana," the holy city of the Goddess Ma, in the direction of which I was travelling, accounted for the peculiar fame and sanctity in which this valley was held. The Persian "Royal Road" and the great Roman trade route to the East traversed it; Greek, Saracen, Seljouk Turk, and Mongolian armies once swept across its grassy slopes, and at least one division of the Crusaders passed this way

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when journeying southwards towards Palestine. Generally speaking, prior to the year 840 A.D., the great armies operating in Asia Minor proceeded through the Cilician Gates (which I visited later), and subsequent to that year across the Sarus valley. The ancient city of Comana once lay around the village of Shahr, which I reached after a ride of from 4 to 5 hours. It is said to have constituted one of the most magnificent and famous cities of all time. Strabo writes of the great Temple of the Goddess Ma lying in this deep valley, being served by 6,000 priests and votaries of both sexes and of its orgiastic worship, which included public prostitution after the Semitic manner. Comana became known as the strongest centre of pre-Aryan influence in Asia Minor, and even under Pompey its priestly dynasts were respected and retained virtual independence for many years, since here the high-priest ranked next to the king and usually belonged to the same family, his revenues being derived from the extensive lands appertaining to the temple. In the third century it became a Roman colony, being then known as Hieropolis, but later in Justinian's time it reverted to its former name with the added prefix of "Golden" (*q.v.*). I cannot find recorded any historical mention of the date of the city's decline.

Reports had reached me of the stupendous ruins, both Roman and Greek, which still abounded (though I could discover no one who had visited the site), and my eyes strained the landscape for a veritable Acropolis and Carthage combined lying in this remote valley. Never have I been so utterly disillusioned! True, the remains would be interesting if casually encountered, but I had been primed up with too many eulogistic and thoroughly unreliable vapourings on the subject! A small theatre in a very ruinous condition might be described as the "pièce de résistance," a couple of small Byzantine arches, which would be passed unheeded in Athens, and certainly a rather charming little temple, comprise the entire Greek remains; in fact, the entire visible remains of *any* sort on the left bank of the Sarus, whilst on the right bank the Roman Empire is represented by a short stretch of terrace upon which are the bases of a few columns. I had intended to spend the entire following day amidst the ruins, which may be inspected with ease in the space of an hour! This is not to say that the undergrowth over a vast area is not studded with fragments of columns and odd pieces of ancient masonry, and doubtless the city once presented a magnificent appearance, but that is quite beside the point!

The Armenians did not settle in Shahr itself until 1860, but if the Binboa Dagh to the east be synonymous with the "Black Mountain" of olden days, which I believe to be the case from a study of an early map and also by reason of the extremely dark

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colour of the rock of which it is composed, then the mountain formed part of the dominions of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom and within its fastnesses was located the monastery of Areg, whither the Patriarch Gregory Vikayser retreated in 1099 and, collecting many learned theologians, both Armenian, Greek, and Syrian, about him, translated a number of important foreign works. Binboa Dagh was captured by the Scythians in 1154, but retaken two years later by Stephen, the brother of the Armenian King Thorus II.

The Kaimakam of Shahr showed me hospitality for the night, and at an early hour the following morning, having been provided with fresh horses and a guide, I set off in a south-westerly direction, my objective being the erstwhile Armenian stronghold of Hadjin, about 25 miles distant, which unquestionably lay within the confines of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom. The araba road from Shahr closely follows the right bank of the Sarus, entering the fertile Maghra region and passing a number of Avshar villages until Khasta-Khaneh, lying on the left bank, is reached, where the river is spanned by a ramshackle bridge. I did not enter the village, for there seemed no point in courting disaster, since nothing more substantial than a clock-work train could have crossed in safety! (From my guide I gathered that the place once formed a base for operations by the Turks against the Armenians in the wild Hadjin district.)

Following a bridle path which skirts the western slope of Firat Dagh, I ultimately reached the araba road from Cæsarea via Tomarza to the south, and here the scenery assumed an aspect of impressive grandeur, my route now lying between the great mountainous walls of the Taurus proper towering above me upon either side. A precipitous rocky descent of some 1,300 feet leading to the bed of a ravine presently confronts the traveller, through which flows the Hadjin Su, the head-waters of the stream being nearby. As I followed its course southwards a terrific storm burst upon us which had been gathering in the mountains for some time previously and had increased in intensity as I approached Hadjin itself. Yet cold and wet though I may have been, I welcomed, as wholly appropriate to the nature of my surroundings, the great thunderclaps which seemed to shake the very mountains encircling the ancient stronghold, as if indeed the vials of the wrath of heaven were about to be emptied upon this wild and desolate spot, the darkening scene being alone illuminated by the vivid flashes of lightning throwing into bold relief the ruined tower and walls which dominate the Rock of Hadjin.

Ever since its downfall there have existed, almost to our very day, scattered remnants of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom within the fastnesses of the Taurus Mountains; so inaccessibly

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located were these strongholds that a state of virtual independence was maintained under chiefs who were direct descendants of the princes of their mediæval realm. Paying little or no tribute to the government, enjoying complete religious freedom under their own bishops, these stern, rude, yet warlike and fearless survivors of a vanquished dynasty for long proved a thorn in the flesh of the Osmanli Sultans. Most notable historically were the inhabitants of Hadjin and their even more famous brethren of Zeitun lying across the mountains some 40 miles eastwards, and fully dealt with by Franz Werfel in his well-known book "The Forty Days," wherein are so graphically described the Armenian deportations of 1916.

I spent a somewhat disturbed night beneath the roof of the Kaimakam of the adjoining hamlet of Saambeyli, which has only existed since 1928; previously the region was deserted since the time when the Armenians were finally evicted between 1920 and 1921. It was built upon the site of the little fourteenth-century town of Hadjin, of which not a vestige of a house remains. In the morning I ascended the Rock which once overlooked the town from a height of about 400 feet. A veritable hurricane was blowing, dense clouds and mist precluding any attempt at photography. The ruins to be seen along the summit bear grim testimony to the bitter fighting which took place before the last survivors of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom were finally dislodged. A much battered circular stone tower and remains of three walls of the ancient Armenian castle still stand, which served as a school until 1920, and next to the castle are the four roofless walls of an Armenian (Catholic) church, by the side of which is a smaller Gregorian church in a similar condition, but with an Armenian inscription above the entrance. These ruined churches are probably not more than 50 years old. At the base of the rock and at the entrance to a ravine about half a mile distant to the north still stand the walls of the fourteenth-century Gregorian monastery and church, wherein resided the Bishop of Hadjin, whilst at a similar distance to the south in a rocky hollow there exists a very ancient square stone edifice, once an Armenian public bath. The entire building is only about 15 feet square, so that but few bathers could, presumably, be accommodated, and, by the irony of fate, probably the oldest building to be found in this region, it is in the best state of preservation, and still supporting a substantial domed roof, having escaped the wholesale destruction to which the remainder have succumbed.

The only available horses in Saambeyli being in an unfit condition to be ridden, I was able, after some delay, to secure a precarious seat on a bullock cart, which had arrived from Cæsarea en route for Kozan, which lies at the south of the pass, and for a

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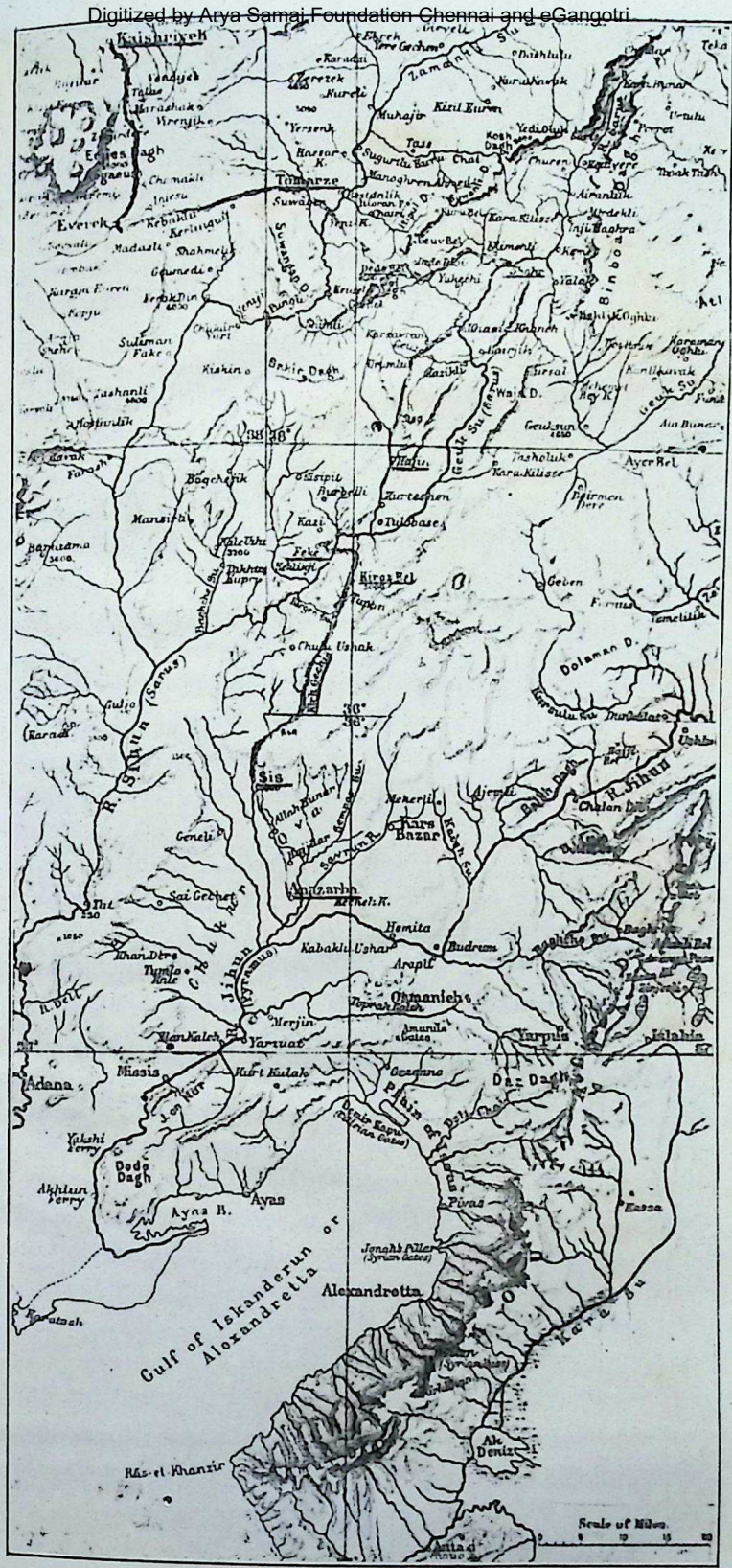

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE "THROUGH THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS AND THE ARMENIAN CILICIAN KINGDOM," BY E. H. KING.

To face p. 602

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FIG. I.—CÆSAREA: GENERAL VIEW SHOWING MOUNT ERJEUS (ANCIENT MONS ARGÆUS) IN THE BACKGROUND.

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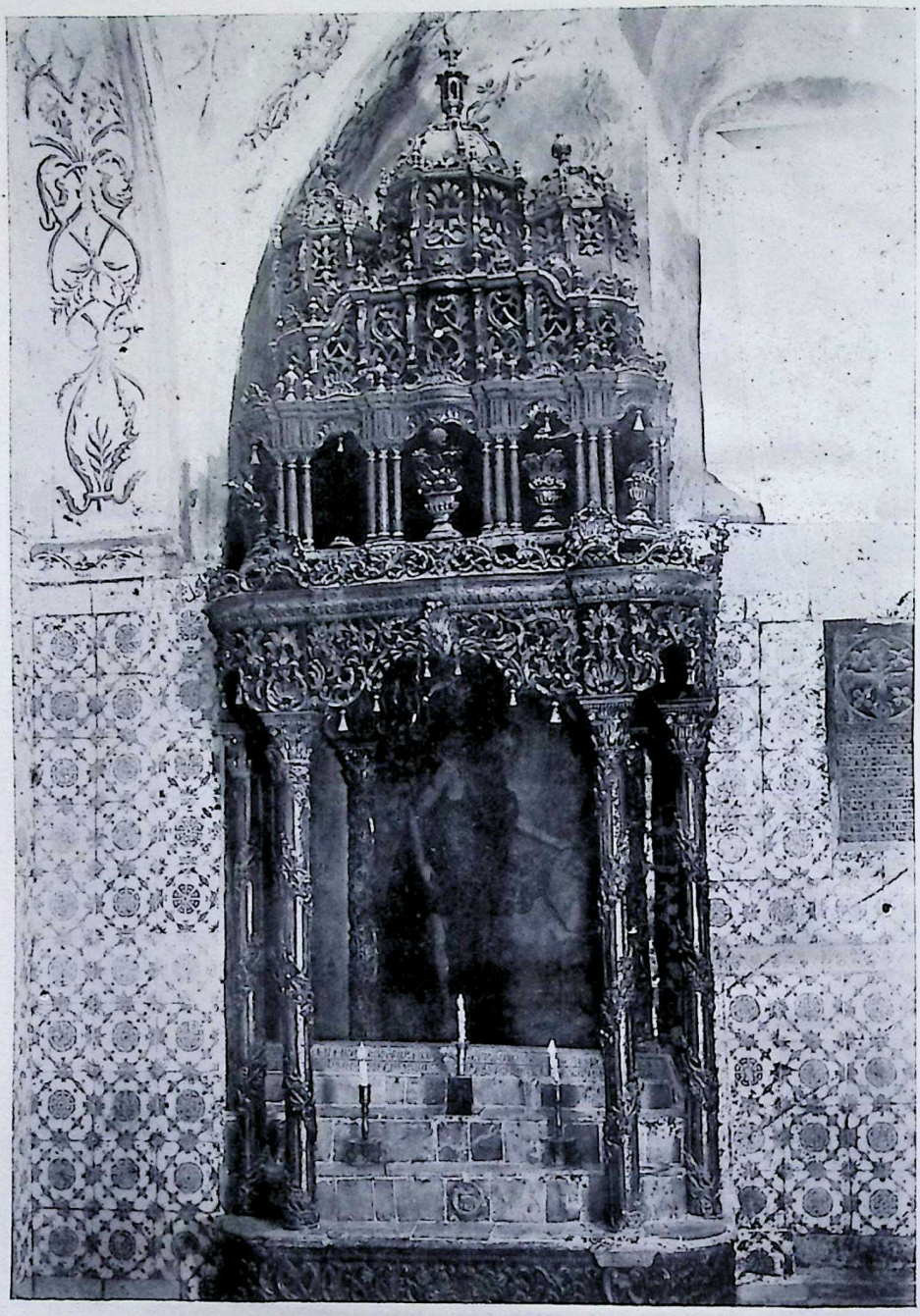

FIG 2.—TRADITIONAL TOMB OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AT MONASTERY OF SURB GARABED, EVKERÉ, NEAR CÆSAREA.

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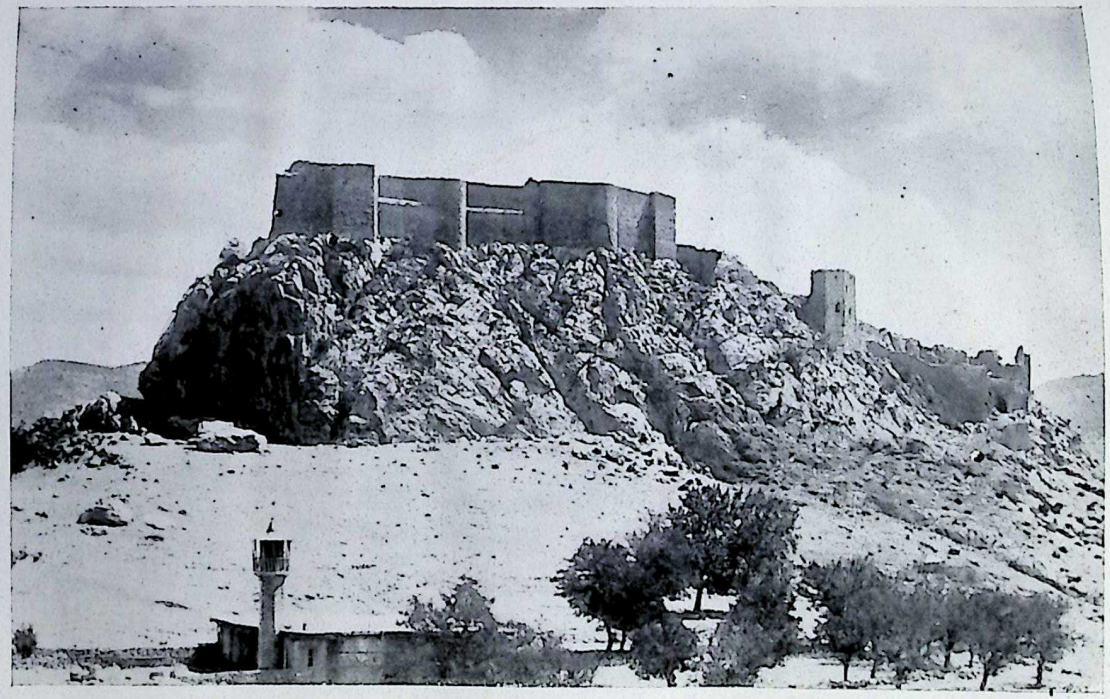

FIG. 3.—CASTLE OF FEKÉ, SITUATED IN THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS BETWEEN HADJIN AND SIS.

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FIG. 4.—FORTRESS ROCK OF SIS.

Remains of King Leon's castle at left along the crest and his cathedral with surrounding monastery wall at foot of rock to the right.

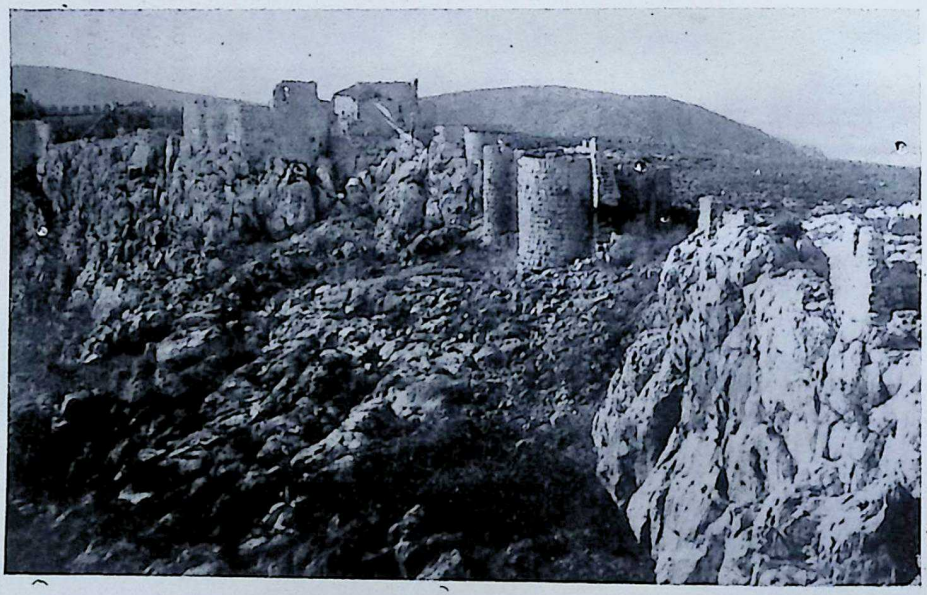

FIG. 5.—ANAVARZA—THE "KEEP" WITHIN THE SECOND ENCEINTE.

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consideration the drover was prepared to deposit me, together with my camp-bed, at Feké, which lay about 7 miles westward of the Chaussée at a point about 12 miles south of Hadjin. Nothing could exceed the exquisite beauty of this route as we followed the banks of the Hadjin Su southward. Very lovely is this stream, clear as crystal, now roaring in rapid torrent, now foaming in cascades over great masses of rock, now swirling round roots of gnarled and aged tree-trunks, now sleeping in placid pools. As I pursued my journey the clouds dispersed, the sun blazed forth, and with every bend of the pass a fresh vista of mountain scenery, each seemingly more enchanting than the last, opened out before me. Close to the village of Himetli a turning westward leads through a precipitous ravine to the castle of Feké (Fig. 3) and the hamlet of that name lying at the base of the rock upon which it stands. Feké Castle is situated at an altitude of 4,200 feet, or about 1,000 feet higher than Hadjin, to which, in appearance, it is similar, although in better preservation, due, of course, to the fact that it was never subjected to the modern bombardment which reduced the latter to its present ruinous condition. It is of considerably earlier date than that of Hadjin since it was within its walls that King Leon I. and his son Thorus sought shelter in 1137, after the defeat of their armies by the Greeks at Anavarza in the Cilician Plains to the south, as will be presently related. Unfortunately no further historical facts appear to have been handed down regarding this remote yet romantically situated Armenian fortress. To my intense disappointment the inhabitants of the cluster of houses at the base of the rock displayed abysmal ignorance on the subject beyond the somewhat obvious observation that it was "chok eski" (very ancient)!

I did succeed in discovering an Armenian inscription within the castle walls, but it was so obliterated and defaced as to be quite indecipherable.

The sole accommodation obtainable in Feké was of so uninviting a character that, accompanied by the Mukhtar, I set off in the direction of a Yuruk "yaila" about half a mile distant, claiming hospitality for the night. I was, as usual, most kindly received, and appeared to have struck upon a particularly prosperous community judging by the size of the flocks and the jewellery disported by the women who were attired in exceptionally vividly coloured costumes surmounted by their picturesque headdress, a tall square *coiffe* of white muslin or cotton, the ends being wrapped under the chin.

I had hoped to secure horses at Feké, but since none were then available and I might have been delayed indefinitely, I decided to resume my journey southward by the bullock cart, to which I had become more or less inured! Having regained the Chaussée by

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an alternative route, we now commenced the steep ascent from an altitude of 2,330 feet to the Kiraz Bel Pass, which stands at about 5,100 feet. Despite our somewhat laboured progress, it seemed good to be alive in this silent land of romantic beauty and to inhale the ever-present scent of the verdure carried on the soft mountain air, the pine, ash, oak, plane, oleander, and the myrtle, all serving to clothe the slopes through which my journey lay, whilst from the Kiraz Bel itself soared the snow-clad heights of the loftier peaks of the Taurus.

Descending some 2,000 feet, the open valley of the Tapan Dere lay at my feet, and here I passed a somewhat chilly night at a police post, which provided the sole accommodation available. The following day, travelling always southward through the pass, I would especially mention the Kirkgechid Dere, a valley surrounded by one chaotic, intricate, and lofty mountainous mass. Oh! for the skill of a Turner to depict the exquisite tints ranging through richest purple to the softest and most delicate mauve as at length the shadows fell upon this enchanted scene.

Partly upon the site of the little Turkish town recently renamed Kozan (Fig. 4), which I reached at nightfall, once stood the great city of Sis, which lay, as it were, within the very portals of the Taurus Mountains as approached from the Cilician plains in the south, being situated at the mouth of the pass to Hadjin in the north, which I had just traversed. Its name breathes and enshrines the history of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom both during the days of its prosperity and peace and the darkest days of its sorrow and defeat. Captured by King Thorus II. in 1144 during his sweeping victories over the Greeks, of which I shall write in greater detail when describing the fortress of Anavarza, it remained in a more or less ruinous condition until the accession of Leon II. to the throne in 1185, who, after restoring his capital of Tarsus (captured by his predecessor Reuben II. from the Greeks in 1182), set about the rebuilding of the city of Sis with the utmost magnificence in 1186. Royal palaces existed in both cities, and the seat of government alternated between the two according to the residence of the sovereign until the destruction of Tarsus in 1274, when Sis became the sole capital. Of all the princes whose sceptre swayed the Kingdom Leon II. undoubtedly proved himself to be the wisest, the most beneficent, and the most beloved of his subjects, not one of whom it is said ever appealed to his charity in vain.

Plundered and burnt during the ferocious invasion of the country by the Egyptian hordes in 1266, when the great temple erected by Hethum I. in 1225 was levelled to its foundations, the city rose once again like a phœnix from the ashes during the reign of Hethum's successor Leon III. in 1269, who established

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his capital within its walls and whither later, in 1294, the Supreme Patriarchate of Armenia, under Gregory VII., was removed from the ruined city of Hiromcla, which lay eastward, south of Marash and upon the western bank of the Euphrates. The city of Sis was blockaded during the combined invasion of the country by Egyptians, Arabs, and Turkomen, under the Egyptian chief Phuntukhtar, in 1274, but being unable to overcome the resolute resistance encountered, this force thereupon marched against Tarsus, which was the principal repository of the royal treasures, and, having plundered it of all its riches, set fire to the Palace and the Church of St. Sophia, returning to Egypt with a large number of its inhabitants who were taken into captivity, Sis, as already stated, now becoming the sole capital.

The final overthrow of the city did not occur until 1374, under the reign of Leon VI., last of the Kings of the Reubenian Dynasty. At this time the country was in the last stages of decrepitude, riven asunder by inner dissensions among the chiefs over the preceding ten years, thus rendering the land an easy prey to the repeated invasions of the Egyptian Mamelukes, who now determined that the name of Cilicia should be finally expurgated from the list of Asiatic Kingdoms. In 1371 sounded the first notes of the death-knell of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom, the country being ravaged by the Egyptians with the same ferocity as hitherto, cities being burnt and the produce of the land destroyed; so desperate were the straits of the inhabitants due to the resultant famine, that a bushel of corn was sold in the streets of Sis for the price of 500 pieces of silver. In 1374 the Egyptians redoubled their efforts, and under the Sultan Melek El Ashref (an inveterate enemy of the Christians), an enormous force once more descended upon the unhappy Armenians, who were in no condition to offer effective opposition. After withstanding a siege of two months Sis fell to the invaders, who broke open the tombs of the Armenian princes and sacked the city. Leon himself, realizing that his presence in the stricken capital could no longer benefit his suffering subjects, retired, together with Mary, his Queen, Phinna, his daughter, and a number of the chiefs to the Fortress of Capan, situated at a height of about 1,100 ft. on a rocky eminence northwest of the city, and whither all the royal treasure had previously been transported. Here he was blockaded by the Egyptians for nine months, at the end of which time his provisions were exhausted. On the advice of his followers the King then sent proposals to the Egyptian general, offering to surrender provided the lives of the garrison were spared, which being promised on oath, he issued from the fortress and gave himself up. Capan was thereupon plundered and the whole of the royal family transported in fetters to Cairo in the year 1375, which year records the

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final overthrow of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom and the decline of the Reubenian Dynasty. The Egyptian Sultan offered to set his distinguished captives at liberty if they renounced their religion, which, however, they steadfastly refused to do, and were consequently imprisoned for seven years when, at the instance of King Juan of Spain, who had sent ambassadors with costly presents to the Sultan, their release was secured in the year 1382; they then proceeded to Jerusalem to offer up thanks for their liberation. Leaving his family in the Holy City, the King first visited the Pope, Urban VI., at Rome, with whom he had fostered most friendly relations during his reign, subsequently travelling to Spain, where he was received with great honour by his liberator.

At this time war broke out between France and England, and at the instance of the Pope, who sought to act as mediator, the exiled Armenian monarch visited the Kings of both countries who, however, displayed no interest in His Holiness's pacific proposals, nor were they inclined to assist the King in his hoped-for restoration to his throne. In the year 1393 Leon died in Paris, where his remains were interred in a magnificent tomb in the Convent of the Celestines, his wife and daughter speedily following him to the grave.

What of the city of Sis in the year of grace 1936? Little enough did I find to remind me of its erstwhile splendour, and that little will be speedily diminished. Only the north, south, and east walls remain of the Cathedral, the pride of its founder, Leon II., by whom it was built in 1200, having been subsequently enlarged by his successors, and it is astounding to find even the shell still standing of one of the earliest Armenian churches in the city, the greater part of which was swallowed up in the subsequent holocaust of destruction. It was within these hallowed walls that Queen Zabel, dragged from the convent whither she had retired upon the death of her consort, Philip of Antioch, was united to Hethum I. in 1223; here, too, was anointed and crowned Leon IV., amidst great rejoicing in 1305, as also his successors in 1320 and 1365. Where once great gatherings of Armenian clergy assembled and where even within living memory the voice of priest and chorister echoed through its lofty arches, today cattle peacefully and placidly browse within its deserted aisles. The reader will naturally conclude that the ruined state of the building must be attributed to the ravages of time, yet this is by no means the case. In the year 1440, owing to the impoverished state of the Patriarchate and the ruinous condition of the city of Sis, the seat of the spiritual government of the Armenian Church was removed by popular consent to the ancient Monastery of Echmiadzin at Vagarshapat in the modern Soviet Republic of Armenia, which I described in some detail in my former article in the ASIATIC

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REVIEW and where it has remained to this day. The Catholikos or Patriarch of Sis and his clergy, however, vigorously opposed the transfer and declined obedience to the Patriarchate of Echmiadzin, so that a state of enmity arose between the two churches which was only finally quelled in the year 1901 by the due submission of the former. Up to the year 1916 Sis still constituted the seat of a Patriarch (today living in Beyrout), who, of course, together with the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Akthamar (an island on Lake Van in eastern Anatolia), owed obedience to the Supreme Catholikos at Echmiadzin. No Armenian population has naturally existed in this region since the deportations, and within the last few years the Turkish villagers of Kozan have been engaged in the demolition of the old Patriarchal Palace close to the Cathedral, which has all but entirely disappeared, and they are now making substantial inroads on the latter building, the old stones being used to erect fresh houses in the valley below. To the Turks such buildings naturally possess no historical importance, but it is certain that until they were driven from their monastic domain the clergy in Sis had admirably restored and preserved this relic of the city's bygone splendour. The interior of the building consists of a large central apse and two side aisles containing chapels dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul respectively, in each of which are to be seen quaint frescoes depicting Mount Ararat or Massis, the sacred emblem of the Armenian race, whilst in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, on the north side, are to be found pictures of the monastery itself. A winding stair leading to the roof may still be ascended, otherwise this brief description of the old shell is today complete. Vanished with its late occupants are the ancient marble coronation chair of the Armenian Kings, the two great bronze candlesticks which once stood at the base of the altar steps and the fine old early Armenian manuscripts which the monastery housed.

I spent hours clambering (at the imminent risk of broken limbs!) amidst the ruined walls, turrets, and arches of Leon II.'s castle on the Fortress Rock of Sis, which dominated the city. The ruins of the Fortress touch the summit in several places, and a high enclosing wall follows the undulations of the surface. The ascent and descent proved most trying, since this rugged crag is precipitous from almost every angle; small wonder that it frequently proved impregnable! Originally a Saracen stronghold in the early eighth century, inscriptions are to be seen in both Arabic and Armenian.

Having secured horses in Kozan, and accompanied by the Kaimakam himself, I soon left behind me the grandeur and exquisite beauty of the Taurus range, emerging into the torrid heat of the Cilician plains.

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The approach to Sis from the plains, as I turned to view it, is one of most romantic beauty, surmounted by the Fortress Rock, which, in turn, is backed by a broken fringe of mountains of the deepest purple tint, and I resumed my journey with some regret, notwithstanding the squalor of the Hotel Kozan, within whose gloomy portals I had lodged.

I could now dimly discern through the haze on the horizon the faint outline of my next objective, the massive Fortress Rock of Anavarza, lying some 20 miles distant in a southerly direction. The fertile Cilician plains dividing the great wall of the Taurus from the Mediterranean seaboard are watered by the Rivers Sihun and Jihun, which rise in the uplands of Cappadocia beyond the mountains through which they force their way southwards, and as I journeyed through these regions it was vividly brought home to me how severely the inhabitants must be, and indeed are, handicapped by the widespread prevalence of malaria. The reason is not far to seek, since with the passing of the centuries the courses of these rivers have changed to a most marked extent, with the resultant formation of stagnant pools and marshy land which, of course, provide the ideal conditions conducive to this devastating disease. Traces of the main aqueduct (one of three) which once carried the water supply from the mountains in the north across the plains to the Fortress of Anavarza may still be observed, particularly in its immediate vicinity, where 32 arches are in a remarkable state of preservation.

If Anatolia should ever seek to entice the tourist to her shores, what glowing posters might not adorn the walls and windows of our Travel Bureaux portraying the stern majesty of Anavarza, together with appropriately garbed and armed warriors manning its grim ramparts, the whole surmounted by alluring catch phrases designed to fill the charabancs to overflowing! If the reader will visualize a great isolated ridge of rock some two miles in length rising from the level plain to a height of over 500 ft., and culminating in the towers and battlements of the ancient citadel, he or she will have gained a fairly accurate impression of the spectacle which greets the traveller's gaze. To this brief description, which will be amplified anon, should be added a confused, overgrown, and shapeless mass of ruins lying at the base, which once constituted the city of Anazarba. The sole remains meriting description beyond the aqueduct already referred to are the fine old triple Arch of Triumph (heaven alone knows how this has survived!) and the inner fortress wall, in very good preservation, which was separated by a ditch (scarcely discernible and choked with rubble) from the now completely ruined outer wall.

In Roman times, at a date which is not recorded, fortifications

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were erected upon this great rocky eminence and a town was constructed at its base; moreover a town greatly favoured by both the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius Cæsar, from whom it received the names of Cæsarea ad Anazarbum and the Metropolis of Cæsarea Secundum. Other Roman rock fortresses existed in these regions, though none could compare in dimensions or importance with Anavarza and the erstwhile city of Anazarba, which became one of the most flourishing in Cilicia, not only under the Roman Empire but also, later, under that of Byzantium, when, during the reign of the Emperor Justin in 525, it was entirely rebuilt and renamed Justinopolis. The city fell to Haroun-el-Raschid in 802, being later recaptured by the Greeks, who retained it until the year 1100, when it entered into the possession of the Armenians under King Thorus I., and it is now necessary to transport the reader back to events which occurred in the earlier days of the annals of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom.

The citadel of Anavarza may be said to have constituted the earliest capital, since Reuben I. was mainly occupied in gathering followers for his cause, and his son Constantine during his short reign of five years was also similarly engaged, but under the warlike Thorus a definite seat of government was established and the entire fortifications, which had been largely destroyed by a succession of earthquakes both before and since the time of Justin, were now completely rebuilt, and the remains existing today are entirely of Armenian origin. Please mark that I am referring to the Citadel of Anavarza as distinct from the City of Anazarba, or Justinopolis, since I am convinced from the condition of the latter, as already described, that the Armenians only occupied the former and very naturally contented themselves with merely erecting the strong fortress wall around the ruined city for purely defensive purposes against attack upon the citadel itself. (This is not a matter of conjecture but a commonsense deduction.)

Thorus I. died in the year 1123 after a reign of 23 years, and was succeeded by his brother, Leon I., who, by his successful incursions westward into the Greek dominions in Isauria, at length brought down upon himself the fury of the Byzantine Empire, under the Emperor Johannes Porphyrogenitus, who, in 1137, invaded Cilicia with an enormous force, of which a large detachment marched against the capital itself. On the approach of the Greek forces the Armenians sallied forth and completely overthrew them, so that the Emperor then brought all his army to bear and subjected Anavarza to a siege of 37 days, during which time the warlike and undaunted inhabitants hurled down red-hot iron and stones upon the battering engines of the insurgents, which they destroyed and which had to be replaced by others covered with clay. Eventually the Greeks charged and a terrible

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conflict ensued, the Armenians defending every inch of the ground, women joining in the fray and flinging from the housetops furniture, cooking utensils, and every conceivable missile upon which they could lay their hands. At last, overpowered by superior numbers, and realizing that otherwise their capture was inevitable, the inhabitants emerged from the citadel, and, cutting their way through the ranks of the insurgents, left the capital. Leon and his son Thorus (later King Thorus II.) were ultimately captured at the Castle of Feké,* in the heart of the Taurus mountains, and transported to Constantinople, Cilicia then becoming temporarily occupied by the Greeks. Whilst in confinement Thorus experienced a remarkable dream, which he later recounted to his father. "I thought," said he, "that a man of most glorious appearance entered our prison and presented me with a loaf on which was a fish. You asked me for it, and on my giving it to you you did not eat of it." "My son," replied the king, "the time will arrive, as the loaf indicates, when thou shalt recover all the country which I have lost; and as the fish represents, thou shalt become powerful at sea. I partook not of the gifts, therefore I shall not see the accomplishment of these things." The royal captive's interpretation of his son's dream proved correct. His death occurred within a year and Thorus, in the following year, succeeded in effecting his escape from Constantinople disguised as a merchant, whence he sailed for Antioch, subsequently journeying into the Taurus mountains, where he disclosed his identity to an Armenian priest, with whom he remained in concealment.

At this time many Armenians had sought refuge in the mountains from the persecution of the Greeks, from whose tyranny they longed to free themselves. When it became known that the son of Leon was amongst them they rallied round him and soon procured for him an army of 10,000 men, at the head of which the greatest success attended his exploits. Anavarza was retaken together with the cities of Adana, Sis, Areuzberd, and Barzrberd, and thus Thorus succeeded in establishing himself upon the throne of his forefathers in the year 1144.

Anavarza, as hitherto, constituted the capital of the Armenian

* Since the above was written, as a result of further research, I have identified Feké Castle as being unquestionably synonymous with the Armenian Castle of Vahkah which was captured from the Greeks by Constantine I. in the year 1095. Before the King and his son were delivered up to the Greeks, as above described, it appears that a challenge was issued from the summit of the castle walls by one of the Armenian chiefs, possessed of great bodily strength, daring the insurgents to induce one of their number to engage him in single combat. One, Eustratius, accepted the challenge and a bitter contest ensued before the gates of the fortress, the Armenian chief being ultimately worsted and the castle thereupon being invested. It was recaptured by the Armenians under King Thorus II. in the year 1144.

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Cilician Kingdom until the year 1184, when the aqueducts broke and the surroundings became unhealthy, in consequence of which the capital then alternated between Tarsus and Sis, as mentioned above.

I was able to procure a guide in the person of an inhabitant of a nearby hamlet, and together we turned our horses towards a ravine leading to the Citadel itself, which winds upwards through great fallen blocks of the bluish rock of which the ridge is composed. After emerging from this ravine we now entered upon a veritable sea of rock covered with immense sarcophagi all broken and displaced, hurled hither and thither by those convulsions of nature which have so often shaken the ancient fortress.

The only appropriate mount under these conditions would be an ibex or a chamois, and after a number of perilous stumbles I dismounted and bade my guide tether the horses. We now proceeded on foot with the fierce heat of a midsummer Cilician sun beating relentlessly down upon us, and shortly reached the southern wall of the Citadel (or outer wall of the first enceinte) constructed (as are the remainder of the fortifications) of yellow limestone protected by four circular flanking towers and stretching across the full width of the rock. A battlemented way reached by steps within connects these towers, the whole being in very fair preservation. The entrance to the Citadel is on the left of the wall as one approached from the south and is partly choked up with rubble. On passing through into the first enceinte I was immediately confronted by the little Royal Church of St. Zoravark, erected, along with the fortifications, by Thorus I. in 1100, and bearing a long Armenian inscription beneath the eaves, and which once encircled the building, the north side of which has, however, now collapsed. Square in form, its architecture is of the simplest, and beyond a few very imperfect frescoes there is little to be observed within, yet it held for me the greatest interest since beneath the fallen masonry lie buried the monarchs of the Reubenian Dynasty, who died during the period when Anavarza constituted their capital (1100-1184), with the exception of Leon I., whose death occurred in captivity, and Mileh, who was slain by his own soldiers on account of his cruelty and vices. I was profoundly thankful for the shade afforded by the part of the roof which still remains intact beneath which to shelter for a time from the sun, whilst lizards sprang in and out amongst the débris (I was also warned against a particularly poisonous species of snake infesting the ruins, which happily, however, failed to materialize). The first and second enceintes are divided by the remains of a square tower of beautiful masonry high up on the side of which is to be seen a stone bearing a long Armenian inscription by Thorus I. and in olden days it was, of course, a per-

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fectly simple matter to pass to and fro by a drawbridge which once spanned a fosse, at the base of which the rock has been hewn to a sharp angle like the high pitched roof of a house. Today, without the aid of the drawbridge, to reach the second enceinte is a most perilous undertaking to attempt. In the first place the fosse would have to be crossed, and even then there is no direct access save by a jagged path at the base of a wall not more than a foot wide, one false step on which would entail inevitable destruction down the precipice hundreds of feet below. Such antics, doubtless mere "child's play" to a steeplejack or a tight-rope walker, to a common-or-garden traveller, moreover one whose feet are commensurate in size with a height of 6 ft. 5 inches, failed to make any appeal whatsoever! I do not say I would *not* have made the attempt had it not been for the fact that a quite sufficiently hazardous alternative method of attaining the second enceinte from the eastern side of the rock existed which, whilst affording me the additional interest of examining this angle of the Citadel, did not involve the immediate peril of the former means of access and I unhesitatingly adopted it! I deferred making this second ascent until later in the day when the heat had to some extent subsided. I found the eastern rampart to be in a considerably poorer state of preservation than that protecting the southern approach to the Citadel, and this is, of course, probably due to the fact that the most severe fighting took place upon this side, but at the same time the loopholed wall appears to have suffered particularly severely during the great earthquakes which convulsed the fortress and has sunk to a marked angle in consequence.

Within the second enceinte rises the keep of the fortress itself (Fig. 5), to the south of which is a battlemented wall similar to that which I had encountered before entering the first enceinte. The east wall and part of a tower in the ruined north wall, together with a structure which may possibly have been the royal residence, constitute the sole remains of the rectangular fort or inner stronghold of the fortress. A long Armenian inscription is to be seen on the upper part of this latter building, which was the only one I observed in the second enceinte. Just outside the north wall of the fort, and connected with it is a fine old squat round tower, which, to my mind, is the best preserved piece of masonry in the whole fortress, and which, I should say, will retain its pristine grandeur until the Day of Judgment! It may well have formed part of the original keep, but this is pure surmise on my part, for there are no neat little guide-books sold at a turnstile, together with picture-postcards of the ruins, and heaven forfend the advent of such to this remote old fortress, grim and silent guardian of its Royal Dead. . . .

Upon descending from the Citadel I passed the night at the

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nearby hamlet where I had sought my guide, reposing in a form of open-air sleeping-place, having two platforms erected within a framework of stout poles and surmounted by a sloping roof thatched with rushes, which are in common use in countries experiencing intense heat. The following day, having bidden a grateful farewell to the Kaimakam of Kozan, I continued my journey southwards with fresh horses and another guide towards the village of Missis, once the ancient town of Mopsuestia, and situated upon the banks of the River Jihun, some 25-30 miles distant.

It proved a long and tiring ride of some eight hours' duration in the intense heat and without a particle of shade to protect us or our flagging horses from the sun's scorching rays, and it was with a feeling of intense relief that I reached my destination on the evening of June 24. From Missis it was possible to telephone to Adana, whence a car was despatched in which I sped towards the (comparative!) comfort of the Yeni Hotel.

Of the early history of Mopsuestia nothing is known, nor does it figure prominently in the annals of the Armenian Cilician Kingdom. Willibrand, canon of Oldenburg, visited this region in the thirteenth century, and described the town as being of imposing aspect, having ramparts flanked by towers even then in a ruinous condition. It was at that time subject to King Leon II., although the nearby Castle of Missis was manned by a Byzantine garrison, and it frequently changed hands during the desultory warfare still waged between the Armenians and the Greeks, and later, during the Egyptian invasions. The modern village is a miserable place, devoid of interest, except for an ancient mill picturesquely situated on the bank of the Jihun, said to have stood for over 1,000 years, and serving its original purpose to this day.

At this point I may be said to have achieved the object of the journey, which I have attempted to describe.

I had travelled as a "stranger in a strange land," moreover, a land peopled, as I fancied, by the ghosts of that little mediæval realm now long since passed away; yet the beauty of the scene remains, for the same great mountains, within the fastnesses of which once dwelt those romantic warriors of old, still frown down in unchanging majesty upon the lonely wayfarer today, and it is the work of man's hand alone that has perished or decayed.

Over a total distance of approximately 200 miles I had covered some 160 miles without the assistance of an interpreter and largely through a wild mountainous region, where apparently no Englishman had hitherto been seen within living memory. I mention this fact simply and solely in order that I may pay my tribute to the hospitality, guidance and help afforded me by the Vali at

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Cæsarea itself and by the Kaimakams, Yuruk tribal headmen, and others, who rendered the accomplishment of this short journey possible. Although I paid modest sums for the necessary transport and to my guides, at no time was I permitted to pay one single piastre for the food and shelter with which I was provided, except at the Khan of Kozan. My knowledge of the language was limited to little more than the bare essentials of life plus a small handbook of phrases, and it speaks volumes for the intelligence of my hosts that I contrived to make myself understood at all! Later in the year I am anxious to traverse the regions of the ancient Armenian Kingdom proper, which lay between the town of Erzerum and Lake Van; possibly I may continue my journey as far as the Persian Lake Urumia, which once formed a part of the Armenian dominions of old, and upon my return I shall hope to be permitted to furnish an account of these travels in a future article in the ASIATIC REVIEW.

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THE MODERNIZATION OF HYDERABAD

By B. S. Townroe, J.P., hon.a.r.i.b.a.
(Mayor of Hampstead, 1934-36.)

The living conditions of the citizens of Hyderabad have been improved in many directions since the present Nizam ascended the throne in 1911. His Exalted Highness has indeed amply fulfilled the promise which he made in a speech at the threshold of his career, when he pledged himself to be a beneficent ruler of his people.

In the Address which was presented to the Nizam during the course of the celebrations of the Silver Jubilee of his reign last February, made on behalf of 14 million subjects, irrespective of nationality, religion, caste or class, grateful recognition was given to the results of his good administration. It was pointed out that under his benign government the people all enjoyed equal rights and whether they were Parsi, Hindu, Muslim or Christian looked upon the Deccan as their own mother country.

The population has increased from the time of the Nizam's accession, when it was 13,400,000. In the earlier years of his reign famine, plague and the Great War accounted for the fall of a million, but in the latest census the population has risen to 14,200,000.

A study of the various official reports and of this Address presented at the Jubilee reveal the extent of the modernization of Hyderabad. Under the Nizam's guidance and encouragement great and far-reaching changes have been brought about in the rebuilding of the capital and other towns; in the clearance of slums and the rehousing of the people; in all branches of the social services; in temperance; in every aspect of education both intellectual and physical; in the care of the sick; and above all in the material matters of improved industry and agriculture which enable social reforms to be paid for. Transport facilities and means of communication have been greatly increased, and modern amenities such as telephones, broadcasting and regular air services have been introduced. Throughout these changes the State has endeavoured to retain all that was best in its old institutions, and has achieved a harmonious blending of Eastern culture with Western progressiveness.

Such unprecedented progress in every department of government, followed by reform and improvement in the social and economic conditions of the people, would not have been possible if throughout the whole of the 25 years complete peace had not prevailed in the dominions ruled over by the Nizam. Many

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other countries were shaken by the Great War and the economic depression which followed, and their peoples had to suffer drastic economies with heavy taxation and widespread unemployment. Hyderabad, however, has been spared these calamities, and the Jubilee celebrated 25 years of peace and progress.

Another fundamental change which made reform possible was the reorganization of the Government. The responsibility of administration has been entrusted by the Nizam to the President of the Executive Council and the Departmental Ministers. The Government of Hyderabad is strictly constitutional, though not in a democratic sense according to Western ideas. The Nizam is most careful to observe the letter of his self-imposed Constitution, and any questions of importance which he originates are always referred to the Executive Council. His hobby is his work, and in matters of State business little escapes his notice, for he deals meticulously with all the business submitted, frequently annotating State documents with his own hand, and referring them back to his Ministers for further elucidation.

In his work he is much assisted by his sons. The Prince of Berar is Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Prince Moazzam Jah Bahadur is President of the City Improvement Board, and the Princess of Berar, a daughter of the ex-Sultan of Turkey, has taken an active personal interest in questions of motherhood and child welfare. This co-operation of the Ruler and his family with the heads of the departments has proved to be most fruitful in every field of State and civic activity.

Water

When the Nizam came to the rulership he found his dominions gravely suffering from floods and his people lacking the necessity of life—pure water. A vast irrigation system was inaugurated after the outbreak of serious flooding in 1908, designed to protect the city of Hyderabad from future disasters. There are now two great reservoirs, Osman Sagar and Himayat Sagar, which are a few miles from the capital and which add much to the beauty of the surrounding countryside. The greatest irrigation works of all are those known as the Nizam Sagar, completed at a cost of nearly three million pounds sterling, and which, through its main canal, over 72 miles long, supplies water for an area covering 270,000 acres. This great reservoir, about 100 miles from the city, set among beautiful surroundings, is a favourite resort for holiday makers.

The agricultural peoples in the villages are also being provided with reliable water supplies. The Public Works Department is steadily sweeping away old-fashioned water cisterns and obsolete

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drainage plants and providing efficient sanitation and drainage. Sewage plants on modern lines, as well as waterworks, have already been completed in Jalna, Raichur and Latur. The administration are now overhauling the out-of-date cisterns at Nanded and Nizamabad, and a water supply is being provided for Warangal.

When it is remembered that in Great Britain, in spite of centuries of local government, disastrous floods took place in East Anglia during the last winter, while only a few years ago many English villages were suffering from serious drought, and at the present time the Ministry of Health are being compelled to give increasing attention to water supply in rural areas, the extent of the progress made in this respect in Hyderabad must be all the more appreciated.

At the time of the Nizam's accession the work of the Irrigation Department was, generally speaking, limited to keeping the old tanks in a good state of repair. Today sixteen large works of irrigation have been completed, and those already mentioned are numbered among the most famous in British India. The old tanks of Lakh Wan Ram, Ramappa, Pakhal and Pocharam have been renewed, and in this way 300,000 acres of land have been made available for cultivation. Fifteen hundred wells in the Raichur district and eight hundred wells in the Gulbarga district have either been sunk or thoroughly repaired. In the city of Hyderabad itself and in Secunderabad and the surrounding suburbs the citizens have an abundant quantity of good drinking water. In other towns a plentiful supply of filtered water has been made available. Water for drinking, washing and for cleansing purposes is recognized to be one of the essential needs of a civilized state. In this respect, as in many others, Hyderabad has given a lead not only to British India, but to many other countries of the world.

Education

Another fundamental reform which has been carried out by the present Nizam is in the world of education. It is, indeed, of little use to provide clean water if national habits are dirty and the people are not raised to higher standards of living. Accordingly the advances made in all branches of education, intellectual and physical, have been of the utmost importance in making the social reforms practicable. The Nizam has paid particular attention to the Department of Public Instruction and educational progress, from the University at the top to elementary schools at the bottom.

Osmania University can with truth be said to be the creation of Sir Akbar Hydari, who attended the Coronation service on

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May 12 in his capacity of President of the Executive Council of the Nizam, succeeding in this appointment the former Hindu President, Maharajah Sir Kishen Prasad, G.C.I.E.

Architecturally the University adds much to the beauty of the city, uniting as it does the best features of Muslim and Hindu architecture with the latest ideas of educational requirements. The building of the various constituent colleges is not yet completed, but the works at present in progress promise that the final result will be effective and beautiful. The Senate House, the Library, the Museum, and the Colleges of Science, Arts, Law, Agriculture and Engineering have all been laid out. Besides these it is proposed to construct a botanical garden, a swimming bath, a stadium and gymnasium. Already most of the roads and avenues leading to the different buildings have been completed.

Sir Akbar, since its foundation, has been the inspiration and guiding spirit of Osmania University, where a very notable departure from tradition has been introduced by giving teaching in the vernacular. The University and its Bureau of Translation have in fact revolutionized collegiate education in India. There has been demonstrated in a practical manner the use of the vernacular, and it is little wonder that other universities, not only in British India, but in Europe and Asia, are watching with interest the developments of the system. In the words of a recent report, "It is hoped that the Osmania University will, by bringing about a happy and firm blending of the Hindu and the Mogul cultures with the culture of the West, remind us of the educational joy of Cordova and Bagdad."

Primary and secondary education generally has developed. When the Nizam succeeded in 1911 there were in Hyderabad about 100 schools and 66,000 scholars: now there are over 4,000 schools and over 300,000 scholars. Facilities for almost every type of higher education, for girls as well as for boys, are being provided within the State itself. Special tribute ought to be given to the work of the Osmania Central Technical Institute, the Jagirdars' College, the Asafia Library, the Dairat-ul Maarid and the Madras-ai-Nizamiah.

There has recently been established a Board of Secondary Education, and schemes are at present under consideration for establishing universal and compulsory elementary education in all parts of the State. The difficult problem of the education of the depressed classes is receiving special consideration.

The Board are also endeavouring to ensure that the educational facilities now made available may be used in the right way. They recognize the danger of ever-increasing numbers of students going in for the type of higher education which will qualify them only for Government clerkships: the number is limited. Students are

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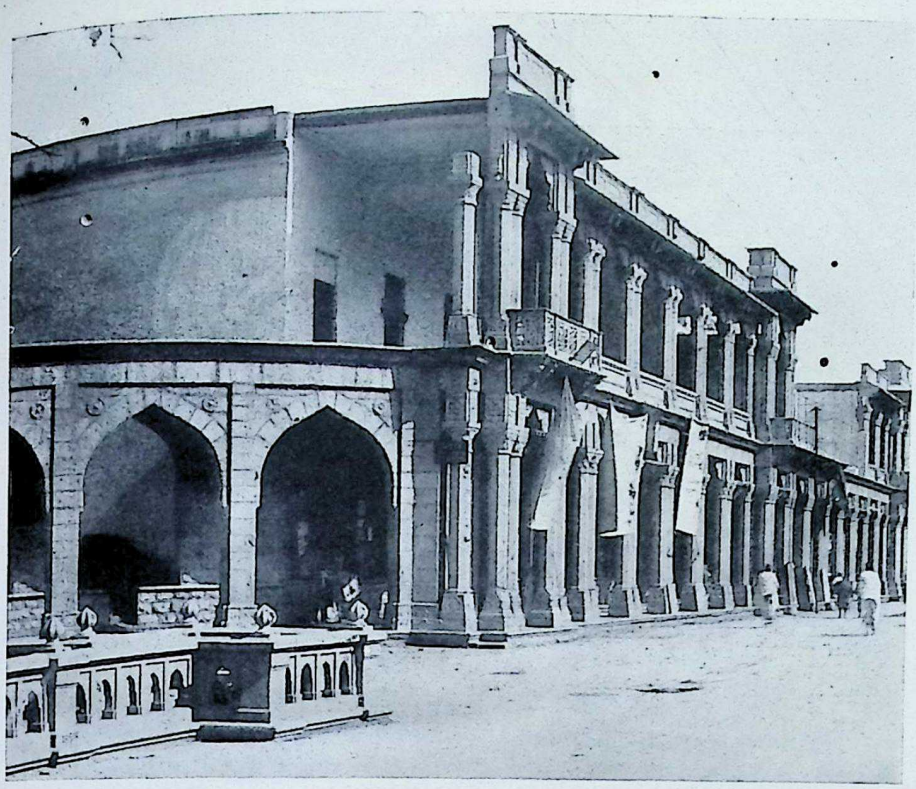
PLATE I.



PATHERGATTI SCHEME: GRANITE STONE ARCADE IN THE CITY OF HYDERABAD.

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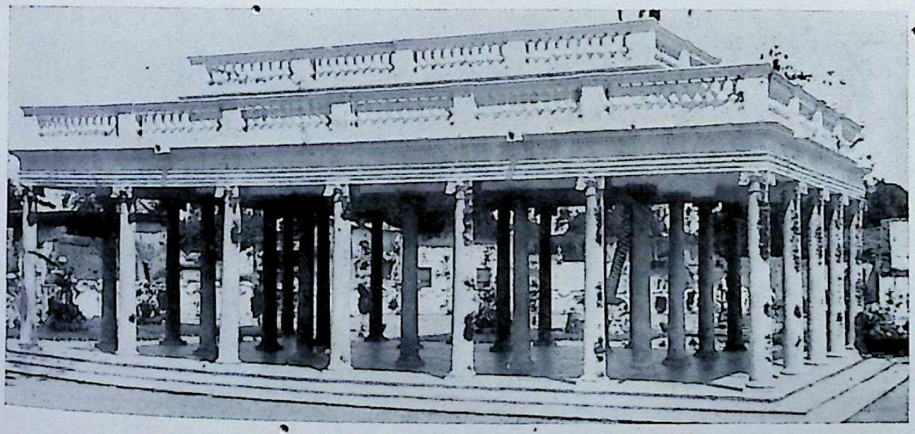
PLATE IA.



PAVILION IN CHILDREN'S PARK, HYDERABAD.

The Modernization of Hyderabad.

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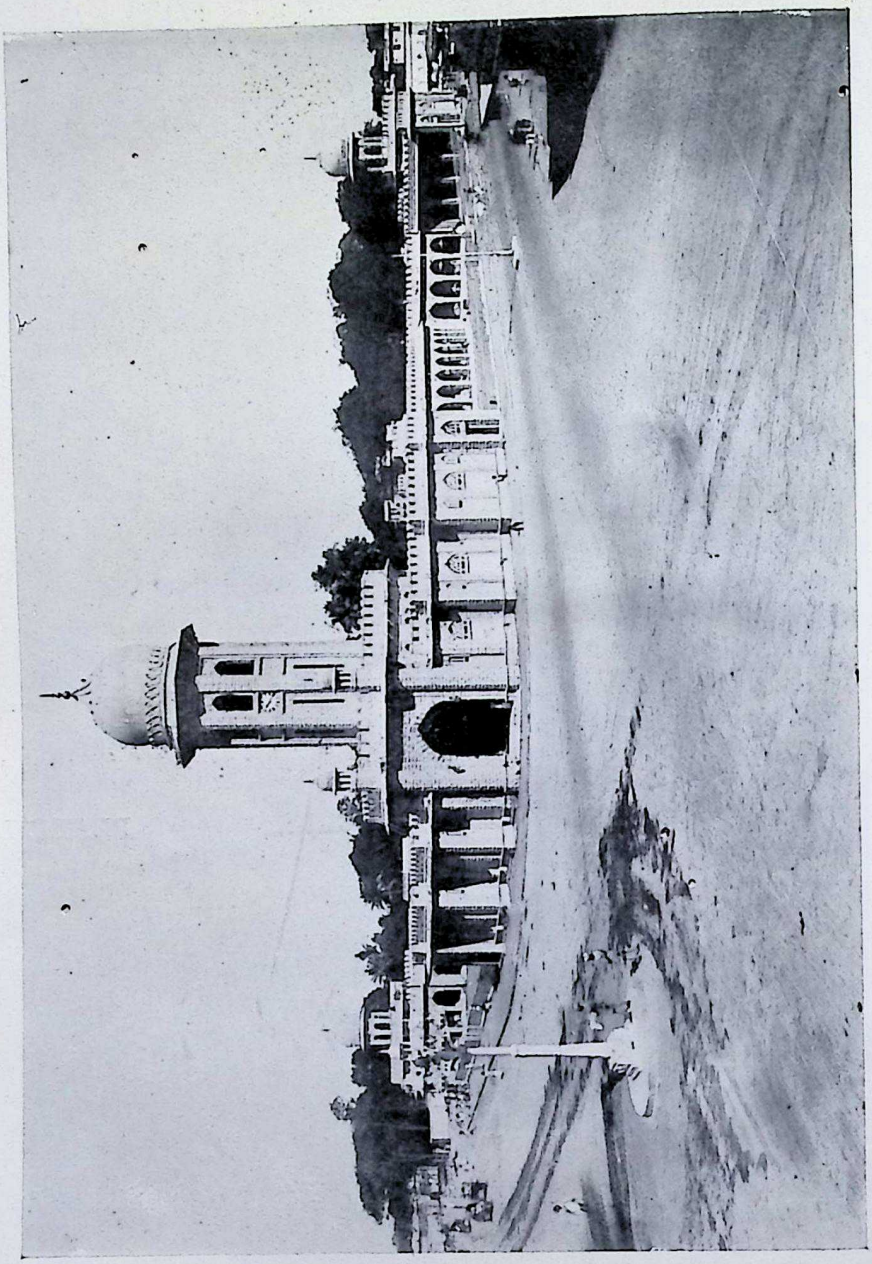
PLATE II.



MOAZZAM JAHI MARKET, HYDERABAD.

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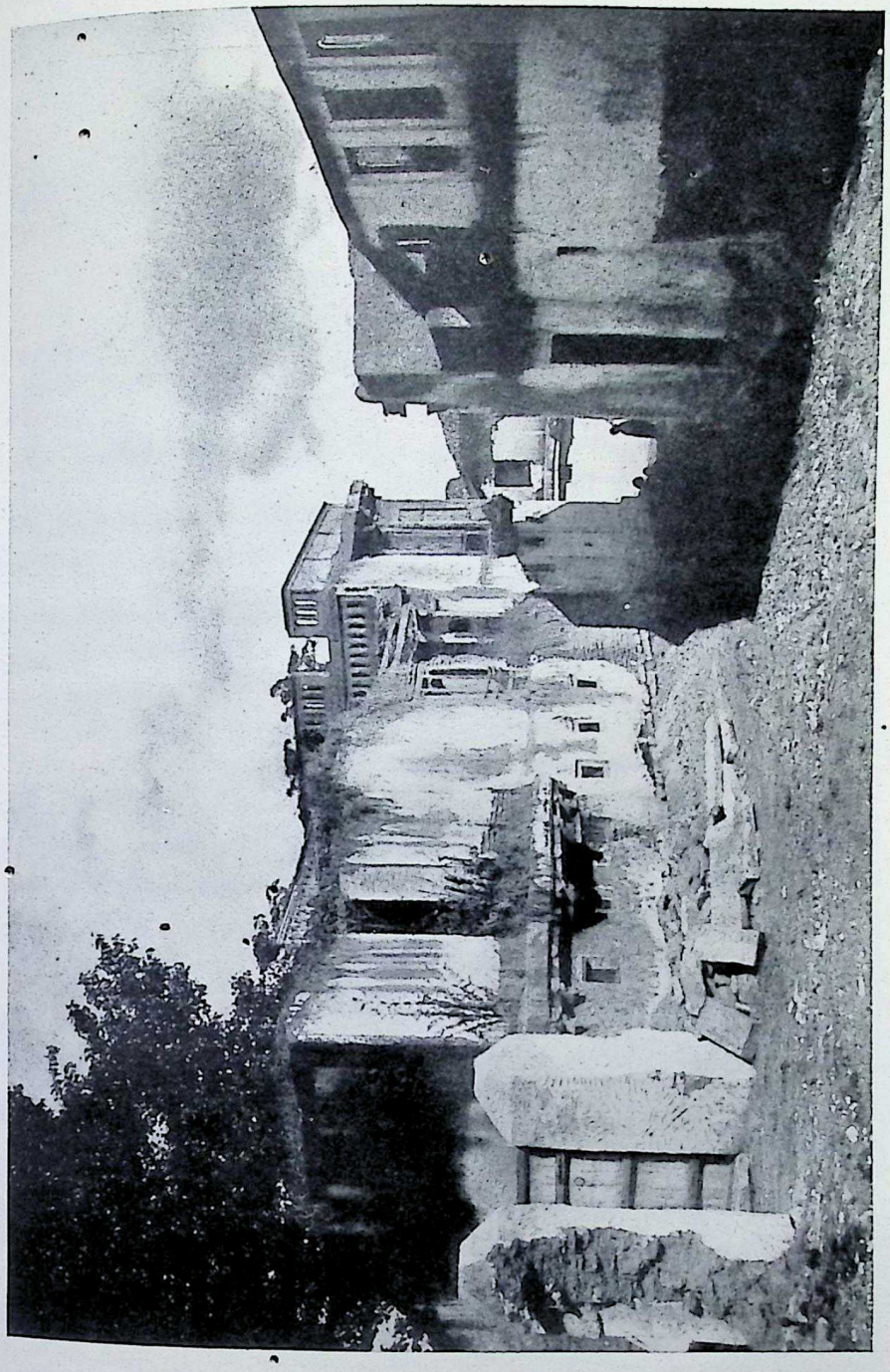

SLUM CLEARANCE OF BAILA LOCALITY, HYDERABAD.

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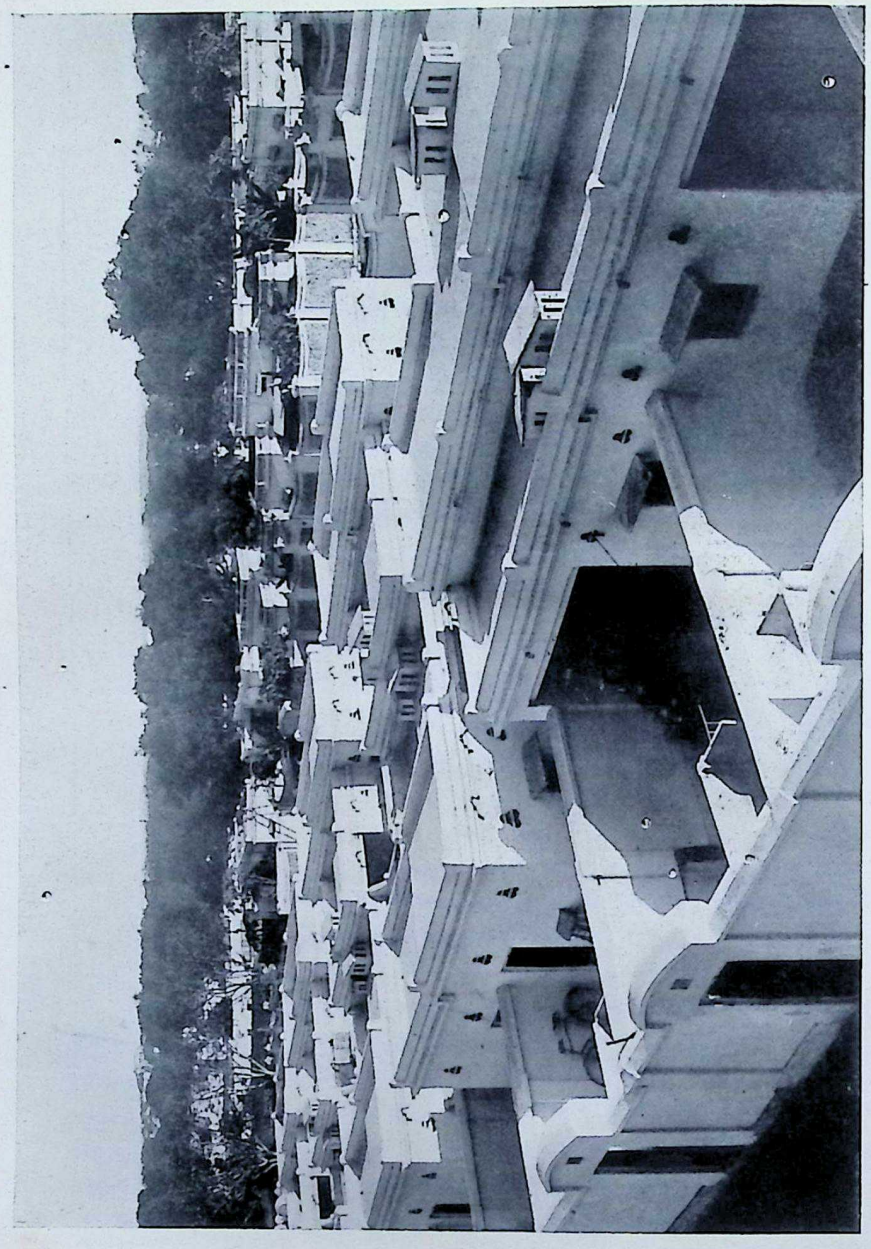
PLATE IV.



MODEL DWELLING HOUSES, HYDERABAD.

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encouraged to specialize in the branches of study in which trained minds are most urgently required. In the words of Sir Akbar Hydari, "Admittedly as India stands today her need is for trained agriculturists rather than Government clerks; for trained business men rather than clerks; trained engineers, doctors, manufacturers, artists, craftsmen, blacksmiths, weavers, potters, almost anything rather than clerks, because already the supply of trained, or at any rate qualified, clerks is enormously in excess of the demand, while the productive work of the country is largely in untrained and therefore relatively inefficient hands."

The necessity of a well-trained mind in a healthy body is not forgotten by those who are advising the Nizam in educational matters. The Department of Public Instruction has done a great deal to encourage both Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and physical education in its broadest sense is also being encouraged. The open-air cult is becoming more and more popular in Hyderabad, and a fuller recognition of what is described in "Lavengro," "There's night and day, brother, both sweet things; sun, moon and stars, brother, all sweet things." In short, the aim behind the Board in Hyderabad is that "the right education of the mind and body is indivisible, and unless the body is trained to health the education of mind and personality cannot but be incomplete."

Agriculture

There is a danger in writing of such a State as Hyderabad, which is the largest Indian State, with a population of over 14 millions—a denser population than Spain or Ireland—of paying too much attention to the capital and overlooking the fact that the majority of the people are agricultural. Actually about half a million people are town dwellers and the rest live in villages. Agricultural work of one kind or another is the main occupation of the people, and the fertile nature of the land makes it possible to grow with success large varieties of crops, including rice, wheat, cotton and castor seed. There has, however, been severe agricultural depression in the past few years, and one is glad to learn that the collection of land revenue in the affected areas has been either wholly dropped or suspended. Sir Akbar Hydari, during the years that he was Finance Minister, did everything in his power to help the agriculturists by remissions of land revenue and reductions in customs duties. Fortunately the State is by far the most prosperous in India, and thanks to the financial statesmanship of Sir Akbar the welfare of the peasants and their families, who constitute the vast majority of the population, has been cared for.

Generous grants were spent on famine relief works. In order

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to safeguard land transactions, rules and regulations were passed providing for the maintenance of proper records of rights and for the transfer of land. *Octroi* duty has been abolished and *ad valorem* duties have been substituted for *per capita* duties.

One of the most difficult sociological problems in the country districts of Hyderabad is the heavy debts owed by many of the small farmers and agricultural workers. Already large sums from public funds have been lent to Jagirdars with a view to liquidating the present load of indebtedness in the hope that in the future they may be able to carry on their rural tasks contentedly. The peasants are being taught the use of modern machinery and of chemical manures. The men working on the land have been helped to introduce improved methods of cultivation by means of special loans and through credit facilities provided by Co-operative Societies. In the last few years the number of these Co-operative Societies has increased to 2,000, while their working capital is well over one million pounds.

Agricultural research has not been neglected. The Department of Agriculture has collaborated with the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and the Indian Central Cotton Committee in technical investigations. The model and State-aided farms all over the country show what can be done. The Department arranges for cattle and poultry shows in various centres. In order that the farmers may have special facilities to sell their products, marketing arrangements have been organized and a Marketing Officer appointed. In the rural districts markets are supervised so that people may be able to buy produce at reasonable prices.

Industry

On similar lines to the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Industry and Commerce is stimulating advance and guiding development. Many of the natives make cloth by hand in their own homes, and the Cottage Industries Institute is doing much to improve the quality of this cloth, and is helping the home-workers to sell the goods when made. While on the one hand the old industries of the country are being carefully preserved new industries are being encouraged. The indigenous industries include inlaid metal work and gold lace work, and the manufacture of Warangal carpets, which are in great demand all over the country. In recent years weaving mills and a cement and a match factory have been established, and a sugar factory is about to be opened. A scheme for a paper mill is under consideration. All this means the introduction of machinery, and special regulations have been issued to supervise these modern factories. The condition of the workers is not forgotten in these industrial plants,

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and staffs of inspectors are appointed, who visit the new factories and other places in which modern machinery has been installed in order to safeguard the workers. An Industrial Trust Fund has been established for the purpose of encouraging industry and advancing loans, and the Government offers many facilities in the way of technical advice, scientific research and exemption of duties on specified articles.

Communications

This modernization of agriculture and industry could not have been accomplished so quickly without an enormous increase in transport facilities. Since the Nizam came to the throne the railway lines of the State have been extended by 729 miles. Their length now is 1,355 miles, apart from that portion which is worked by British Indian railways. Some idea of the prosperity of Hyderabad may be gathered from the fact that no capital from outside the dominion has been employed, and all the expenditure needed has been met by the Government Treasury. The Nizam State Railway was purchased from the former private company on payment of a price of approximately £6 million, and already the return on this capital investment has become a regular source of revenue.

Following the British example the State Railway has established a bus service 4,000 miles long. This has been so successful financially that it is expanding, and it is intended eventually to replace all road services by the railway and motor transport service. The arguments used in favour of this co-ordinated transport administration are the same as those used in the English House of Commons at the time when the proposed London Passenger Transport Board was under consideration. It is argued that standardization and the elimination of competition enable more regular services to be provided at lower rates.

An Aviation Department and a club have been established, and further co-ordination in the future of transport by road, rail and air may be expected. The Princess of Berar recently laid the corner-stone of the Hyderabad Airport.

Full recognition has been given, in the Department of Transport, to the necessity of providing good roads for motor transport. Under the auspices of the Local Fund Administration many miles of these roads have been laid, all free from dust, and therefore with obvious benefits to health. During the 25 years of the Nizam's rule over 3,000 miles of road, 21 bridges over large rivers, and 24 smaller bridges over streams have been erected. A future programme of capital expenditure has been approved, providing for the construction of buildings for all Government departments

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and for the completion of roads and bridges, as well as the provision of travellers' bunk-houses and rest-houses on main arterial roads.

Within the capital itself the road improvements have been impressive. Pathergatti, which is the trade centre of the city, has been reconstructed. The illustration (I.) gives some idea of the imposing shops and arcades built along the new roads. The widening and dust-proofing of the main road through the Chader Ghat area has been of very great service to the merchants of the city. A shopping centre has been established near the station road.

Of improvements carried out in this direction, one of the most important is the Moazzam Jahi Market. This is a central market and is named after the Prince who is the President of the Board. The building was commenced in May, 1933, and was completed within 20 months. It was opened in 1935. The illustration (II.) shows a market, to use the words of the President, "built on modern principles with something of architectural distinction in its appearance." The improved roads are doing much to stimulate better business both in towns and country.

Electricity

The advantages of electricity supply are fully realized by the Nizam and his Government, who have spent a great deal of money in the form of grants towards the development of electricity, which is now widely used in Hyderabad, and is extended to the districts of Aurangabad, Raichur and Nizamabad. Electricity supply both for lighting and heating has also been started at Gulbarga. Plans are under consideration for its further extension. The Government has also given generous grants for the extension of the telephone, which is now available not only in the capital, but at Aurangabad, Jalna, Raichur, Warangal, Bhongeir, Jangaon and Alair. The trunk line has been extended from Hyderabad to Warangal, and from Aurangabad to Jalna. A scheme for joining up the trunk line of the dominions with that of British India is now under consideration.

Another proof of the advances made in Hyderabad in recent years is the expansion of the Postal Department. The number of post offices has increased from 386 to 819. The number of articles delivered through the Postal Department has trebled, and that of money orders has gone up from 2,200,000 to nearly 9,000,000. Some idea of the increased prosperity and the thrift of the people may be gathered from the substantial sums deposited in the savings banks.

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Social Services

All this material advance in agriculture, industry, communications and electricity, and such blessings of modern civilization as a reliable postal service, have accelerated the advance in social services. Soon after the Nizam came to the throne, he showed his very live sympathy for his subjects who lived in overcrowded and insanitary conditions in the capital by commanding the formation of the City Improvement Board. As the present President of the Board, Prince Moazzam Jah, second son of the Nizam, stated in the Address at the Jubilee, the work done has resulted in the general improvement of the social, moral and physical conditions of the citizens. The Board has been able to supply many of the wants of a modern city and has effected many improvements.

When Hyderabad was protected from sudden floods by the reservoirs and irrigation schemes, already described, the City Improvement Board proceeded to lay out with gardens and broad boulevards those areas along the banks of the river which were formerly flooded. These gardens have helped to win for Hyderabad her title as the Queen of Indian cities. A spacious park of about 16 acres, in a part of the city where a public open space was urgently needed, has been constructed along the north bank of the river from Musallam Jung Bridge to the Afzul Ganj Bridge. Permission has graciously been given to call it the Osmania Jubilee Park in commemoration of the Nizam's Silver Jubilee. In other places parks have been laid out and children's playing-fields established. As the photographs show, all this activity has done much to beautify the city.

Following the example set by modern cities in Europe, the City Improvement Board in Hyderabad has for several years past been steadily proceeding with a carefully thought out programme of slum clearance, including the demolition of the worst areas and the replanning of overcrowded and insanitary areas. One area, Feelkhana, situated in the busiest part of the city, was a breeding-place of all types of epidemics. According to the last report three-quarters of the area has been cleared, new roads constructed and sites provided on which the displaced are rehoused. The details show with what financial skill this and other areas have been cleared, and that in several cases profits have been made on the scheme. The picture (III.) illustrates a typical slum situated in the south-east corner of the city, which has been opened out by the construction of three new roads. The families in hundreds of cases have been provided with model working-class houses, of various sizes to suit varying families. The illustration (IV.), taken from above, gives a good idea of the layout of some of these houses and of the surrounding belt of trees.

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Altogether about fourteen slum areas have been improved at a cost of about £500,000. These cover an area of about 700 acres. The new houses are let at rents which vary from 1s. 6d. to 15s. a month. Up to the present about 2,500 houses have been erected in eleven centres, at a cost of £225,000, and in these there are now living under good conditions about 10,000 citizens. Those who know India best consider that the President of the City Improvement Board was fully justified in his claim that "Hyderabad is perhaps in advance of other cities of India in having successfully solved the problem of housing the poor."

Another interesting aspect of the far-seeing policy behind these reforms is the way the needs of the middle classes, which in India suffer so greatly from unemployment, have been considered as well as those of the working classes. One of the fundamental criticisms of Government housing policy in Great Britain is that debts amounting to nearly ten million pounds a year have been imposed not only upon the present generation of tax-payers, but upon the second and third generations, in order to pay for State-aided dwellings in the main occupied today by the skilled and unskilled artisan class. The City Improvement Board in Hyderabad has done its best to provide for the needs of the middle-class population, and has built roads and drains so as to encourage suburban development.

Naturally, however, the main effort has been to solve the problem of housing the poor, and on this point the Nizam, in reply to the City Improvement Board's address, stated, "It is a source of satisfaction to me to learn that my capital is in advance of other Indian cities in the way it has dealt with this difficult problem." He concluded by urging that the Board should devote its time and resources "more to the clearance of slums and better housing of the poor than to works that are intended for mere show and display." His own words, here quoted, show his personal interest in social problems.

Child welfare work was started in Hyderabad by Maharajah Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur, the late President of the Executive Council, who was particularly generous. In his day and since large sums have been given for the construction of infant welfare centres and the establishment of children's parks well fitted with play appliances. Bathrooms, too, have been provided for women of the depressed classes. The illustration (IA) shows a typical pavilion erected in a children's park.

It must not be thought, however, that the housing reforms have been limited to the capital alone. Among social measures undertaken on the inspiration of the Nizam has been the selection in rural districts of certain centres to be converted into model villages. Following the example set in the city, local magnates

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in the country have laid out playgrounds with swings and other amusements for children. Town planning in its broadest sense has been widely adopted, and open spaces provided and roads widened. In many towns and villages markets and slaughter-houses have been built.

Public Health

For those citizens who fall by the wayside owing to troubles either of body or mind, there are the magnificent buildings of the Osmania General Hospital in the very centre of Hyderabad, which provides accommodation for more than 1,700 in-patients. Throughout the State there are district and local dispensaries, including the civil hospital at Secunderabad. The large medical school has now become a medical college and is part of the Osmania University. A leper asylum, built and supported by State and voluntary assistance working together, has been established at Dichpally. There is also about to be opened a sanatorium for those suffering from tuberculosis. As I dealt fully a year ago in the Asiatic Review with various health measures taken in Hyderabad, it is unnecessary to repeat the details today. There can be little doubt but that the changes brought about in public health have added much to the material wealth and to the well-being of the people.

Temperance

The Nizam has from the first recognized that social services alone, however generously supported by public funds and private benevolence, may fail in their objective unless the habits of the people are sound. The "slum-minded" on British housing estates are a sociological problem which has not yet been solved, and in Hyderabad the Nizam has always paid particular attention to the injurious effects of undue indulgence in alcoholic liquor or drugs upon his people. He no doubt had watched the failure of prohibition in another Muslim-ruled State, Bhopal, and he and his advisers have pursued a persuasive policy of temperance teaching, while at the same time trying to bring about the minimum of consumption by raising prices and imposing effective restrictions. Changes have been brought about in administering the opium traffic with a view to making it much more difficult to obtain the drug. There are today about 579 opium shops, as compared with 1,575 twenty years ago, and the consumption has fallen from about 30,000 ounces to about 14,000 ounces, while the revenue from opium has increased by 78 per cent.

Drastic measures have also been taken again alcoholic excess. At one time drunkenness was common. Today the Sendhi shops

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are segregated and strictly supervised both by the police and municipal officers. Excise taxes have been imposed so that although the consumption of intoxicants has been reduced by 50 per cent. the revenue is nearly doubled. In order that alcoholic liquor may be more free from dangerous impurities, pot stills, where spirits have been distilled by hand, have been closed, and steam distilleries under firm control have been erected. A Temperance Committee was recently appointed which, with the full assent of the Nizam, is carrying out a far-sighted temperance policy. Roughly, it may be said that the policy is to increase the cost of alcohol and to reduce the number of shops, and in this way to diminish the temptation to alcoholism.

In this respect, as in many others, His Exalted Highness practises what he preaches. In spite of his great wealth he lives without ostentation or extravagance, and is most temperate at the table.

Conclusion

This is only a bird's-eye view of the principal aspects of the modernization of Hyderabad during the last 25 years. The present Nizam has been following the traditions first set up by His Highness Asaf Jah, who laid the foundations of his kingdom in the Deccan on the principles of benevolence and affection for his subjects. The jubilee address, from which many of the facts given above have been taken, bore abundant witness to the way His Exalted Highness has aimed at removing the gulf which exists between the ruler and the ruled, and at pressing forward reforms in all aspects of national life.

Hyderabad shows that wise Indian self-government is not a myth, and proves what can be done by Princes who have wisdom and foresight.

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THE PROJECTED FLYING-BOAT SERVICE TO AUSTRALIA

By Lieut.-Colonel H. Burchall, D.S.O.

In the Asiatic Review published in July last I gave an outline of the history of the establishment of air services from Europe to the East, and a brief description of the plans that had been adopted by the Government of the United Kingdom for the further development of British Civil Aviation on the Empire routes.

The Under-Secretary of State for Air had announced these plans in the House of Commons on December 21, 1934, and had said that His Majesty's Government had decided, subject to the co-operation and support of all the other Governments concerned, to make arrangements under which Empire air communications would, in the future, be developed on the following lines:

(1) A very material improvement would be made on present schedules between the several parts of the Empire concerned.

(2) A substantial increase in the frequency of the services would be achieved.

(3) All first-class mail to the Empire countries covered by the projected services would be in future carried by air.

The announcement that Imperial Airways, for carrying out this development, proposed to use flying-boats on the route to Australia, which up till now has been operated by land aircraft, aroused a considerable amount of interest amongst the public throughout the Empire. Hitherto, only one section of the Empire routes—*i.e.*, across the Mediterranean, has been operated by flying-boats. The new flying-boats will not, however, entirely replace the land aircraft throughout the route from the United Kingdom to Australia, and land aircraft will still be used on the London-Calcutta services, and will, incidentally, make calls at places to which flying-boats cannot go. There will therefore be flying-boats operating from Southampton to Sydney, and land planes flying more or less parallel with them as far as Calcutta.

It is interesting, therefore, to consider some of the causes underlying this change from a fleet preponderatingly land aircraft to one in which flying-boats outnumber the land aircraft.

The experience of the last ten years has clearly shown not only that very important reductions in cost per ton carried must be looked for, but that they can be secured by increasing the size of

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the aircraft used and employing them more intensively. Other advantages that follow upon increasing the size of the aircraft are covered by the general term "higher standard of comfort." The large aircraft allows a greater space per passenger, and avoids that "shut-in" feeling from which some people suffer in small aircraft. The larger cabins also allow of much improved quietness and the provision of a full catering service, all of which, as those who have travelled in the East well know, are of paramount importance.

Increasing the size of aircraft is, however, not economically possible unless equally great increases in loads to be carried are forthcoming. The proposal to carry all the Empire mails by air without surcharge at one stroke makes possible low carriage costs, greater frequency, higher speed, and increased comfort.

Steady progress in aircraft construction has made possible aircraft of still larger size, but concurrently it has become evident that in some parts of the world aerodrome construction cannot keep pace with aircraft construction. The successful operation of larger aircraft is dependent upon the ability of the aerodromes to support their weight in all conditions that occur in the course of a year. In parts of the world subjected to heavy rainfall the problem is intensified, and in countries unprovided with suitable materials for building special runways the problem is not susceptible of economic solution.

Today there are still many aerodromes along the route to Australia which become quite unserviceable for heavy air-liners after intensive rain, whilst others present difficulties for operations in certain conditions of weather by reason of slope, slippery surface, or obstructions in the vicinity when the aerodrome must be approached from one particular direction. While it is possible to build aircraft undercarriages to support 18 to 20 tons on two pneumatic-tyred wheels, it is becoming increasingly difficult to prepare aerodrome surfaces that will support this weight in all weather conditions, except in countries which have the necessary supplies of material and the requisite skilled labour.

The problem of providing a smooth surface which will support a large land aircraft on two wheels is entirely eliminated with flying-boats. So long as a suitable area of protected water is available, any size of flying-boat can float upon it and operate from it. Moreover, every increase in the size of marine aircraft improves their seaworthiness, and increases their ability to operate in unfavourable conditions of wind and sea. With land planes, on the other hand, increase in size is liable to introduce difficulties on the ground, in handling and manœuvring.

An economy of major consideration arising from the use of flying-boats is that, generally speaking, marine aircraft will be

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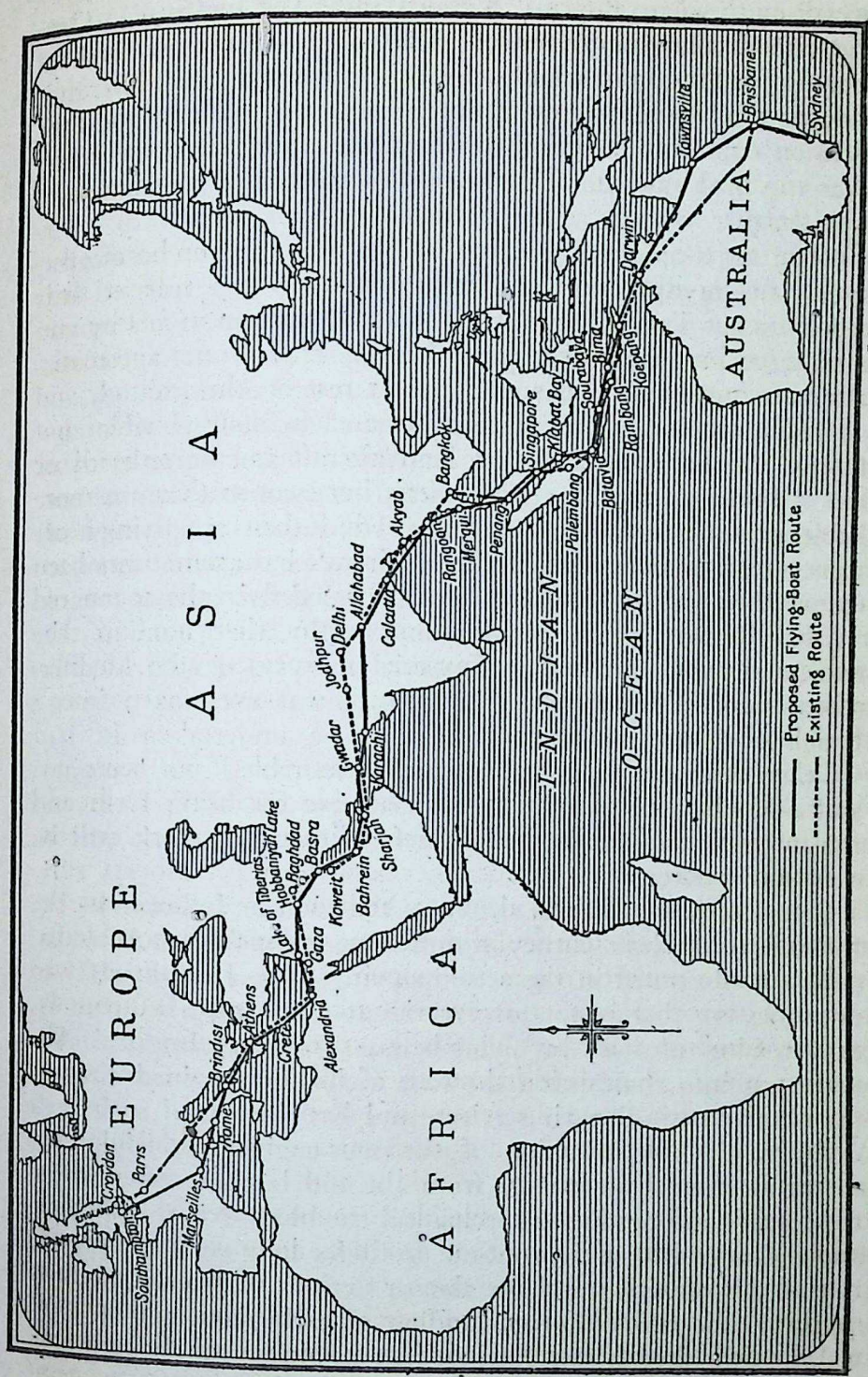

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able to take their fuel aboard at seaboard prices, which offer a marked economy compared with the cost of refuelling at inland aerodromes, where the cost of transporting the fuel in comparatively small quantities over land greatly increases the price of fuel delivered into aircraft's tanks. Where rail transit has to be employed, the aircraft operator not infrequently suffers from the railways' efforts to protect themselves from motor competition by charging high rates for the transport of petroleum products.

A further consideration, particularly with regard to intermediate stops on the route, is that the use of flying-boats overcomes the housing problem, for flying-boats can ride at their moorings automatically turning into wind, and can in fact remain with safety entirely in the open. Land aircraft do not automatically turn into wind when they are at rest on the ground, and generally speaking, land aircraft have to be housed when not flying. It can be argued that land aircraft can be tethered or moored on an aerodrome with safety, but even so they are more liable to suffer from the effects of wind than are flying-boats riding at their moorings. Tethered aircraft have sometimes been damaged by gales which have left unharmed flying-boats moored to their buoys. It is perhaps noteworthy that none of the marine aircraft employed by Imperial Airways on the Mediterranean services between 1928 and 1936 was ever taken into a hangar. Where maintenance has to be undertaken in bad weather, however, the use of hangars is desirable if not necessary, and now that the Empire flying-boats are operating from and returning to this country, the chief maintenance work will be done under cover.

Before reviewing briefly the route that will be followed by the flying-boats on their journey from Europe across Asia to Australia, which is illustrated in the accompanying map, I might refer to one question that is apt to give rise to some surprise, namely, the crossing of land by flying-boats. In 1931, Imperial Airways put into commission the first of its four-engined aircraft, for regular main-line air services, and has since used such craft exclusively. The adoption of the four-engined principle was to secure virtual immunity from the old bugbear of aviation, the forced landing due to mechanical troubles. Now, with four-engined aircraft that can continue to fly for long periods with one engine out of action and for shorter periods with even two not working, the risk of forced landing of early days, and even of today with aircraft not having four engines, can be ignored. With such aircraft, one can fly over land or water without anxiety, and from this point of view it is immaterial whether a land plane flies over water or a flying-boat flies over land.

Parenthetically, it may be mentioned that while Imperial Air-

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THE IMPERIAL AIRWAYS EMPIRE FLYING-BOAT "CANOPUS" AT ANCHOR.

To face p. 630

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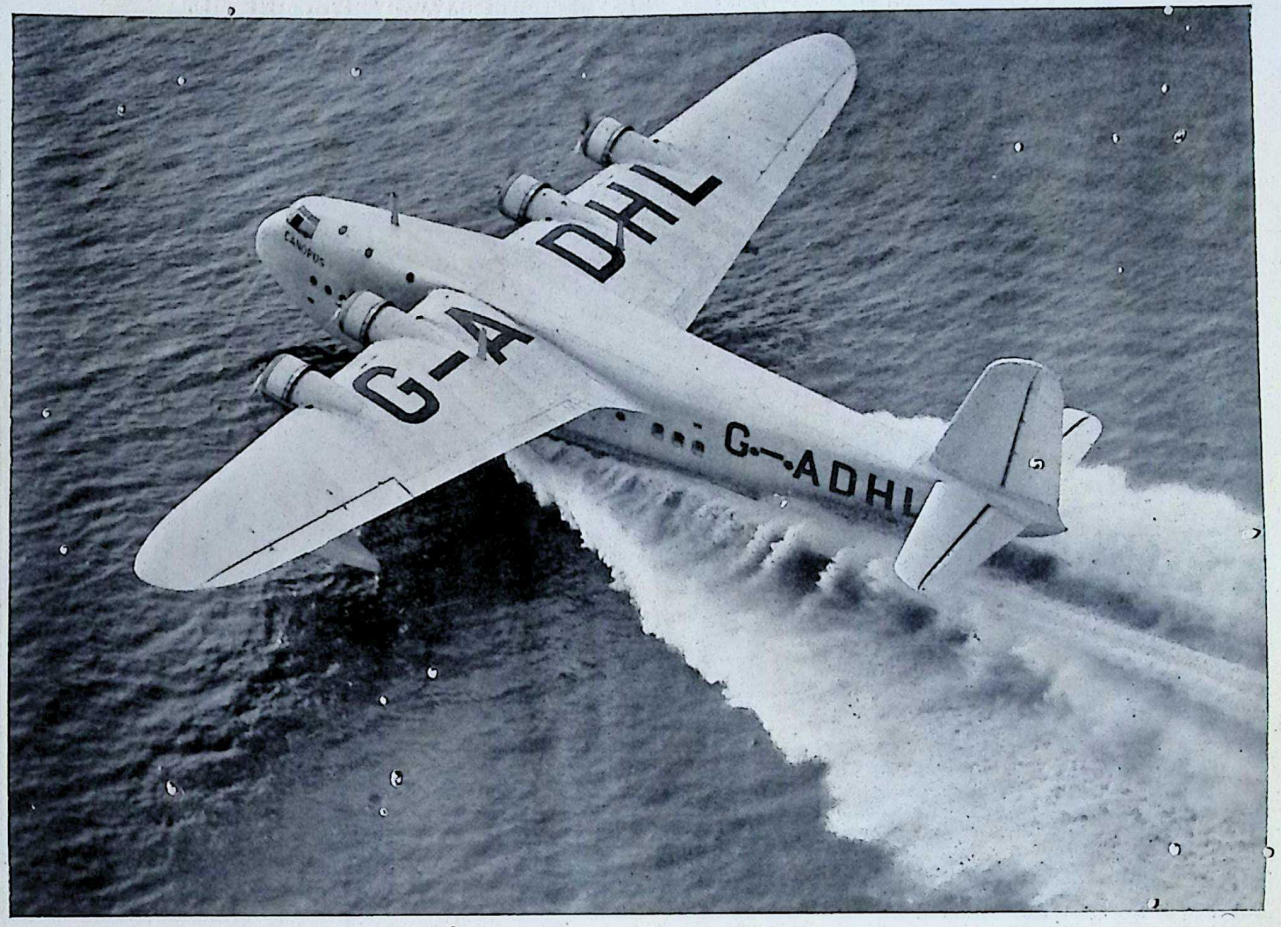

THE IMPERIAL AIRWAYS FLYING-BOAT "CANOPUS" TAKING OFF.

To face p. 631

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ways has concentrated on four-engined aircraft, American air transport companies have been concentrating on twin-engined aircraft that can fly on one of their engines. Arguments have been advanced that with four engines there are twice the number of power plants to go wrong, and the assertion has been made that from an actuarial point of view the twin-engined aircraft is the better proposition to avoid engine trouble. This argument appears to ignore the vastly more favourable position of the four-engined aircraft when any minor trouble does develop, and it is significant to note that one of the leading American aircraft constructors is advertising in the United States that the four-engined era, with its greater reliability, has now arrived—six years after it arrived in British aviation!

When Imperial Airways was formed in 1924, one of its consituent companies was already operating a service from Southampton Water to the Channel Islands with flying-boats. A new marine airport is, however, to be constructed at Langstone Harbour, Portsmouth, which will be free from the dense marine traffic that passes to and fro in Southampton Water, and will therefore facilitate night flying operations, which are necessary to secure the fastest timetables and the best economic exploitation of the services. Meanwhile, the new Empire flying-boats have been operating out of Southampton since January, and at the present time four services a week leave for Empire destinations, crossing France either by way of Macon on the Soane, or via Bordeaux to Marseilles, where, at Marignane, a magnificent marine airport has been constructed in a lake a few miles inland from the seaport of Marseilles. The illustrations (Plates I. and II.) show "Canopus," the flying-boat which carries the class name of the aircraft of this type, at anchor and during the "take-off."

From Marseilles, the route lies along the Italian coast and a call will be made at either Rome or Naples. Brindisi, Athens and Alexandria have been accustomed to Imperial Airways' flying-boats for nearly nine years, and for some years now, eight flying-boat services weekly have been in operation over this Mediterranean sector of the Empire routes.

From Alexandria the Syrian Desert will be crossed from the Sea of Galilee (or Lake Tiberias) in Palestine to Lake Habbaniyeh, 50 miles west of Baghdad. The Sea of Galilee has already been in use for flying-boats, as at one time the Mediterranean section of the India route connected there with the land plane service from Cairo to Baghdad. The connection was discontinued in January, 1933, owing to the absence of housing for land planes, and not on account of difficulties experienced by the flying-boats on the Lake. Lake Habbaniyeh is probably known to those who have flown across the Syrian Desert, but to few others, as it has up to

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now possessed little commercial significance. It forms, however, a very convenient refuelling point for flying-boats on the way to the East and does not suffer the disadvantages of current or of rapid changes of level due to tide or flood. The new Royal Air Force station of Dhibban is situated near the Lake.

From there the route follows the Euphrates and Tigris to Basra. The Basra Port Directorate has established a flying-boat base at Margil, adjacent to the new aerodrome brought into service last year. From there the route follows the south side of the Persian Gulf via Bahrein to Dibai, near the present aerodrome of Sharjah, and then crosses to the other side of the Gulf and continues via Gwadar to Karachi.

Provision is being made for flying-boats to alight in the harbour at Karachi, and whilst mooring facilities are being arranged in shallower water adjacent to the main dredged shipping channel, connection with the dockside is being effected either by means of launches or a pontoon gangway.

Considerable interest will doubtless be taken in the route that will be followed by the flying-boats in their passage across India. It has been found that there are many lakes and rivers suitable for use by marine aircraft, although some of the lakes do not appear on many maps of the country. The route chosen will be from Karachi to Calcutta, making calls at either Raj Samand, in Udaipur State, or Sardar Samand, in Jodhpur State, at Parichha Reservoir at Jhansi, or at Lake Tighara, in Gwalior State. Thereafter the route will be via the Jumna at Allahabad and to the mouth of the Ganges at Calcutta.

The Akra Reach of the Hoogly is the alighting area at Calcutta, and it is hoped that it will be possible to arrange for co-operation between this marine base and the new Calcutta aerodrome which it is proposed to substitute for Dum Dum as Calcutta's airport. From Calcutta course will be set over the Bay of Bengal for Akyab and then direct to Rangoon.

At Rangoon the flying-boats will alight in the neighbourhood of Monkey Point, but no final decision has been taken as to whether the service shall then go via Bangkok or along the West Coast of the peninsula via Mergui and Victoria Point to Penang. At Singapore the combined marine and land airport, shortly to be opened, will be one of the finest in the world. A special channel will enable the flying-boats to taxi alongside the jetty at one side of the main airport. A slipway and hangar is being built, as Singapore will be the terminus of one weekly service. Two, and possibly three, services a week will, however, go through Singapore and on to Australia.

The existing route between Singapore and Darwin is a natural flying-boat route, passing as it does along the line of islands that

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comprise the Netherlands Indies, and negotiations are in progress for the use of refuelling facilities at Klabat Bay, in the island of Banka; Batavia, Sourabaya, Bima, and Koepang. Thus Rambang is the only stop on the present air line route over this sector where a call will not be made.

Darwin, on the coast of Australia, possesses as satisfactory facilities for flying-boat operation as for land aircraft. The route proposed for the service from this point to Sydney has been the subject of much consideration and discussion. Ultimately it was agreed that, although the northern coast of Australia is but little known, it offers an entirely practicable flying-boat route. From Darwin the flying-boats would fly overland to the mouth of the Roper River, where it flows into the Gulf of Carpentaria, and then along the southern coast of the Gulf over Vanderlins Island and Wellesley Island to Karumba, at the mouth of the Norman River. From there, in the south-east corner of the Gulf, the route lies over 350 miles of land to the coast of Queensland at Cardwell, 90 miles north of Townville. The rest of the route is along the east coast of Australia in better known territory, via Rockhampton, Gladstone, and Brisbane to Sydney.

Many problems still remain to be dealt with along the route, particularly where lakes and rivers are subject to pronounced seasonal rises and falls in level, or have no suitable shore facilities, and where they are somewhat inaccessible, making connection with the nearest town area difficult or costly. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the costs involved in the preparation of the whole flying-boat route will show a considerable saving on the expenditure that would have been necessary for the establishment of the equivalent chain of large and suitable all-weather aerodromes.

Before the services can be operated to the proposed frequency, speed, and regularity, the meteorological, wireless, and other navigational facilities along the route must be augmented. Every mile of the route must be covered by an efficient wireless service to aid navigation, and especially at night and in conditions of inferior visibility; and every airport must be provided with all the necessary aids for night flying. Only when the whole route is completely equipped can the ambitious schedule of $2\frac{1}{4}$ days to India, $4\frac{1}{2}$ to Singapore, and 7 to Australia be achieved as a regular practice, and as certain sections of the route need normally to be flown by day, the absence of the desired facilities on any one section may have results which extend far beyond the borders of that section.

The introduction of the carriage of all Empire letter mail by air without surcharge must be done gradually. The aircraft cannot be delivered at once and the delivery of the whole fleet will be spread over at least a year. There are, however, enough flying-

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boats now delivered for one section of the Empire routes to be operated entirely by them. At the present time the whole of the Empire services between England and Egypt are being operated by flying-boats. Before these lines appear in print it is expected that the Africa route will also be operated entirely by flying-boats, and it is expected that unsurcharged mail will be carried on that route in June. The Africa service requires less aircraft than the India route, because the mails are less and therefore will enjoy the benefits of the Empire Air Mail Scheme before India, Burma, and the East.

It is expected, however, that the scheme will be introduced on the India and Australia route in stages as enough of the new aircraft become available. At the present time it seems probable that flying-boats may be in operation as far as Karachi by about September, as far as Singapore by about October, and through to Australia by the end of the year or the beginning of 1938.

Plans are not yet complete for the inevitable extension of the Australia service to New Zealand, but the Governments of New Zealand, Australia, and the United Kingdom have for some time had the matter under discussion.

The route involves the use of aircraft having a greater range than is required on either the Africa or Australia routes, but less than that required for the conquest of the Atlantic. The mileage from Sydney to Auckland is approximately 1,450, against practically 2,000 for the ocean link of the Atlantic route. At the present time there is no technical difficulty to prevent the operation of a service between Australia and New Zealand and the Empire. Boats with extra fuel tanks to give them a greater range than is required on the existing Empire services have already flown non-stop from Alexandria to Southampton, a distance of about 2,300 miles, and on more than one occasion between Alexandria and Marseilles, a distance of approximately 1,700 miles.

The extra load of fuel, however, reduces the available capacity for paying load and therefore increases the cost per pound of load carried. The cost of passenger fares on such a route must inevitably be at a higher rate per mile than on journeys operated by means of shorter stages.

It may, perhaps, not be out of place to mention that from New Zealand across the Pacific towards North America, as far as Hawaii, similar stages are possible, and the remaining stage, from Hawaii to San Francisco or Vancouver, is of the same order as that from Ireland to Newfoundland. Both routes are already engaging close attention, and in view of the ranges now possible with our latest aircraft, it is unlikely that many more years will pass before regular services span both oceans, completing the girdle of the earth by regular British air services.

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THE OUTLOOK IN THE PACIFIC

By E. M. Gull

Whatever may be the fate of the proposal made by Mr. Lyons, the Australian Premier, at the Imperial Conference for "a regional understanding and pact of non-aggression by the countries of the Pacific, conceived in the spirit of the principles of the League," considerable importance attaches to the opinions and sentiments of China in regard to the problems which evoked the proposal. It so happens that one of the most influential of her writers, Dr. Hu Shih, dealt with this subject just before Mr. Lyons's statement was made, and that in the next issue of his paper, the *Tu-li P'ing Lun*, or Independent Review, he expressed his views regarding the minimum conditions for the establishment of normal relations between China and Japan. As neither a pact nor an understanding about Pacific affairs has any chance of success unless existing relations between China and Japan can be improved, and as no improvement is possible without some closer approximation of their ideas, statements by representative Chinese and Japanese of the terms on which their two countries might be brought together cannot but be helpful to the other people directly concerned, especially ourselves, whose natural and dominant desire is to live on terms of amity with both peoples. Unfortunately the most authoritative and useful of such statements are made in languages very much more foreign than most non-English tongues. Not a few of them, therefore, either remain unknown or become known belatedly and, sometimes, inaccurately. In the present instance no very long time has elapsed, for the articles referred to were published on April 18 and 25.

To take first Dr. Hu Shih's views upon the conditions essential to the establishment of better relations between his country and Japan.

A year ago, as he recalls in his article of April 25, his conditions were these:

"(1) annulment of the Tangku Truce agreement and abolition of the neutral zone;

"(2) denunciation of the so-called Ho Ying-chin—Umedzu agreement;*

* This agreement, the precise contents of which have never been published, was made on or about May 29, 1935, when the Japanese made the first of a series of demands relating to the government of North China. The demands included the dismissal of the Governor of Hopei, General Yu Hsueh-chung,

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"(3) voluntary renunciation by Japan of the 1901 Treaty—*i.e.*, the Boxer Protocol—and the right contained in the relative clauses to station troops in the area of the Peiping-Tientsin railway: after removal of the Japanese Embassy to Nanking, repatriation of the Legation guards as a lead to the other signatories of the Boxer Protocol;

"(4) denunciation of the Eastern Hopei agreement of June last year: and withdrawal of the 'Manchukuo' troops in Chahar.

"(5) prohibition in all Provinces of North China and in Fukien of the bogus autonomy movement;

"(6) voluntary relinquishment by the Japanese Government of Consular jurisdiction in China as a lead to European countries and America;

"(7) to unify foreign relations, a declaration by the Japanese Government that all documents not formally signed by the properly accredited representatives of the two countries —*i.e.*, China and Japan—are null and void."

These conditions were published (in the *Tu-li P'ing Lun* of April 19, 1936) with the following comment. Dr. Hu Shih said:

"We are convinced that these are determining conditions precedent to a rectification of Sino-Japanese relations. These various items are not sufficient for a basic setttlement of Sino-Japanese questions, but we believe firmly that they will inaugurate a new period in the history of Sino-Japanese relations: that they can open up a new road: that negatively they can at least prevent Sino-Japanese relations from becoming worse, while positively they can diminish hatred to no small extent: they can open up a way to new relations through the cliff-like barrier that has been erected between the two countries."

Contrast with the above what Professor Hu Shih says now—*i.e.*, in an article entitled "The Present Stage of the Sino-Japanese Question" in the *Tu-li P'ing Lun* of April 25, 1937. Referring to the conditions just quoted, he writes:

"During the past year moderate public opinion has also gradually recognized those (*i.e.*, the above) conditions as

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and of other officials charged with violating the Tangku Truce, the dissolution of all anti-Japanese and anti-Manchukuoan organizations, and the abolition of the Hopei branches of the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party. These demands were accepted—presumably in the form of an agreement which contained other items. For further reference, see page 370 of the *North China Herald* of June 5 and page 414 of June 12, 1935.

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matters which must be decided during the first stage. For example, a leading article in the *Ta Kung Pao* of February 17 specifies these three items as constituting 'the first stage in the process of rectification,' namely: (1) abolition of the bogus Eastern Hopei organization; (2) rendition of the six *hsien* in Northern Chahar; (3) complete withdrawal of extraneous organizations throughout North China.

"So, too, Mr. Wang Yün-shêng, in the eighth issue of the 14th volume of the weekly paper *Kuo Wen*,* specifies 'three matters that must be completed at the outset,' namely: (1) abolition of the East Hopei organization; (2) complete cessation of smuggling; (3) regularization of all abnormalities in Hopei and Chahar, Peiping, Tientsin, and other places (including the restoration of sovereignty in Northern Chahar and the dissolution of all *ad hoc* organizations).

"Mr. Wang says: 'These matters constitute an initial road-clearing to the establishment of normal Sino-Japanese relations.' They are much more moderate than the seven items I mentioned last year. I also am willing to recognize them as the minimum conditions required. If this kind of moderate 'initial road-clearing' is still incapable of accomplishment, we can only conclude that our powerful neighbour has decided that she wants to maintain and prolong a condition of mutual hatred. At the same time we ought, naturally, not to content ourselves merely with fanciful hopes regarding a miraculous change of heart on the part of our powerful neighbour. We ought to urge upon our Government to complete the following essential parts of the first stage: (1) The Government should declare the so-called Ho-Umedzu agreement and the Eastern Chahar agreement to be null and void; (2) the Government should place upon the authorities of Suiyüan and Chahar the joint responsibility of ridding the six *hsien* of Northern Chahar of the Communist menace within a certain time; (3) the Government should employ the resources of the nation in helping the authorities of Hopei and Chahar to clear Eastern Hopei of Communist dens within a certain time."

This modification of the attitude of Professor Hu Shih and others is all the more promising in view of a survey of the outlook in the Pacific published by him on April 18, in which he urges that the balance of forces there has become unfavourable to Japan.

The survey begins with a reference to the discussion of the

* The *Kuo Wen* may for practical purposes be described as the weekly edition of the *Ta Kung Pao*, perhaps the most influential paper in China.

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sixth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held in the Yosemite Valley, California, last August—a conference in which I participated as one of a group invited to attend it by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Dr. Hu Shih, who was Chairman of the Chinese group, says that at the close of the conference he could not but recognize that the majority of those present took a pessimistic view as to the possibility of a peaceful solution of the Far Eastern question. Whether he is right or wrong about this (and some who were there may be disposed to query the point) the interesting and important thing is that in his opinion this "pessimism" was due to a misconception of the circumstances.

"In their mind's eye," he says—*i.e.*, that of the pessimists—"the so-called change in the balance of forces in the Pacific is confined to the complete destruction of the previous balance of power brought about by Japan's domination by force of East Asia since the Manchurian incident, and the entire inability of the old international régime to deal with this domination. They take the 'changing balance of forces in the Pacific' as meaning 'Japan's domination of the Western Pacific.' Naturally they feel hopeless in regard to a peaceful solution. For in the circumstances of one country being absolutely dominant, if the men who rule that country have determined entirely to ignore their international obligations, well, then, short of other Powers being able to dispute its domination effectively by force, there is no other way of salvation. Since the other Powers are not willing, in the face of these conditions of domination, altruistically to sacrifice themselves in war, they can only suffer in silence and be ready altogether to give up for a time international good faith and respect for treaties in the hope of picking up the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table or, as advocated by the weekly paper *The New Republic,* decide to abandon all interests likely to give rise to conflicts and return to a state of isolation."

"But in my personal opinion," the Professor proceeds to say, "this way of looking at the matter is wrong. *'Japan's domination in the Western Pacific' is a phrase which describes a reality of the past. It is not applicable to today.* (The italics are his.) *Japan's domination over East Asia is not of today,* but appertains to the seventeen years prior to September 18, 1931 (1914 to 1931). *After September* 18, 1931, *because she abused her hegemony, she set new forces in motion: she brought a new balance of forces into existence and consequently the position of domination could not be maintained.* Such is the historical reality."

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He then goes on to argue, in a manner which he thinks will be regarded by some as paradoxical, that the Nine-Power Treaty, though designed "to establish new obligations limiting Japan's domination in the Far East," in fact strengthened her domination by the very fact of recognizing it. For a period—down to 1931—it was a harmless domination and because it was harmless it was at its strongest. Then came the Tsinan incident of May 3, 1928, and the anti-Japanese boycott. The Japanese militarists became dissatisfied with harmless domination (there is an intervening reference here to the patience of the Wakatsuki Cabinet), "broke through international restraints, abused their tyrannical power and brought off the Manchurian incident. Thereafter, the more the mailed fist was brought into evidence, the more Japan's international position declined."

The decline is traced through three stages, corresponding with, indeed consisting of, the introduction of three new sets of forces which Japan's misuse of her power set in motion: (1) The re-emergence of Russia as a first-class Power; (2) the strengthening of British forces in the Pacific, together with the increase of the United States Navy, and (3) "last, but not least," the unification and strengthening of China. As a result a new balance of power has gradually been created, and Japan is only one of the factors in it. "We cannot but realize," the writer declares, "that these new factors can bring about the disaster of war and can also furnish the basis of a peaceful solution. Whether they result in disaster or salvation depends entirely upon the capacity or incapacity of statesmen completely to realize the new situation and their capacity or incapacity to make use of it. The most important key to the situation is still to be found in the capacity of Japan for a fundamental, honest-to-goodness change of heart."

Upon this follows a passage which, because of its bearing upon Mr. Lyons's proposal for a Pacific Pact, I quoted in a letter to *The Times* of May 22. It reads:

> "If Japan is still unable to perceive that she has created a new situation in the Pacific; if she still cherishes the illusion that she is the sole arbiter of the destinies of East Asia; if she still desires to force China along the path of the deer driven to its death; if these newly arisen circumstances cannot be well and truly blended and developed towards a common purpose—well, then, this new balance of power must certainly lead us towards a second world war which, beginning with a clash between China and Japan, will gradually involve all the Pacific Powers in a most grievous, fierce and monstrous whirlpool. There is not a single Pacific Power which can hope for a lucky escape. But if the world still has far-

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sighted statesmen they will be able to see in this new balance of power a new hope for peace, a new foundation for a world order. They should be able to see that these new conditions can be used to establish a new organization for peace and collective security in the Pacific region. In that new organization the U.S.S.R., America, England (with her Dominions in the Pacific), and China and Japan should all participate on an equal footing and together seek a solution for the peace and security of the Pacific and of the world as a whole. Several questions there are which cannot be settled singly by the parties directly concerned, but which should be capable of solution comparatively easily through the new organization.

"To sum up—the days of Japan's domination of Eastern Asia and the Western Pacific are realities of the past. In the interests of Japan's future no less than China's, the far-seeing men of our two countries should see and realize clearly that there is a new situation in the Pacific: they should consider and plan how they may use it for the promotion of a permanent peace between our two countries. The blundering methods of a blind man riding a blind horse must certainly plunge our countries into unimagined sufferings."

An equally definite expression of opinion by Dr. Hu Shih appears in the *Tu-li P'ing Lun* of May 23. In an article upon the talks which have been proceeding in London between the Japanese and the British Governments, he quotes a newspaper report from Tokio of May 10 to the effect that, at a conference of the Japanese Ministers of Foreign Affairs, War and the Navy, at which Sino-Japanese and Anglo-Japanese relations were discussed, it was decided that "Japan must adopt an attitude of complete opposition to the reported intention of the Chinese Foreign Office to propose the establishment of a system of collective security in the Pacific." The report also stated that "as regards restoring Anglo-Japanese co-operating in respect of Chinese questions," the three Ministers were in favour of "maintaining close relations with England, each country respecting the existing position of the other." Commenting on this Dr. Hu Shih says:

"We do not know when our Foreign Office made the proposal for a system of collective security in the Pacific region. If our Government has made a decision of this kind we ought whole-heartedly to support it. If Japan, while maintaining an attitude of complete opposition to a system of collective security, is discussing concerted action or co-operation with regard to China with Eden, we believe that the Anglo-Japanese talks in London will be fruitless. Japanese politicians should understand that to discuss co-operation with

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England in regard to China upon a basis of mutual respect for the existing position between England and Japan—*that* is to 'divide the spoils,' *that* is 'to use barbarians to control China through a division of spoils,' *that* neither the Chinese Government nor the Chinese people can possibly tolerate.*

"That kind of method can certainly never solve the Sino-Japanese question. Nor can it solve the Sino-Japanese-Anglo question. Still less can it solve the whole Pacific question. There is only one road to the solution of these various questions, that is for the Powers of the Pacific—China, Japan, Soviet Russia, England (and her Dominions in the Pacific), and America—to associate themselves on an equal footing in a positive system of collective security and together seek a solution of the difficult problems which confront the various countries of the Pacific and cannot be separately settled by the parties concerned."

* It should be explained that these sentences are used by way of reversing Japan's charge, quoted earlier in the article, that China's policy is to "use barbarians to control barbarians"—*i i chih i.*

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THE INDIAN COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1936

By Vera Anstey
(Lecturer in Commerce, London School of Economics.)

It has long been widely recognized that weaknesses in the spheres of industrial leadership, organization and finance are amongst the greatest obstacles to more rapid industrialization in India. Another of the chief obstacles—*i.e.*, the dearness of capital—may also be attributed, at least partially, to deficiencies in the former spheres, as the idea has become prevalent that industrial investments carry a particularly high degree of risk.

The deficiencies referred to have proved difficult to remedy, partly because of the working of the Managing Agency System, which has led to a practical monopoly of industrial leadership by a small and closely inter-related number of firms, which undertake management on behalf of the great bulk of large-scale industrial and plantation companies at work in India.

An effort to grapple with the problem has at last been made by the passage of the Indian Companies (Amendment) Act, 1936, which came into force on January 15, 1937. Probably this legislation will not suffice to remedy the fundamental deficiencies, but it may at least be welcomed as a first instalment, offering some contribution towards the solution of a serious problem.

The Managing Agent System

The Managing Agent System has been defined as "one whereby, when a company is formed, the actual management is handed over to another firm—usually a well-known, long-established trading concern—which for this purpose is appointed its managing agent."* The managing agent firm usually promotes the new company, whether the latter is formed in Europe or in India, helps in the provision of block capital (usually retaining enough shares to ensure ultimate control) and directly undertakes production and marketing. Working capital is obtained from private depositors (especially in the cotton mill industry), loans from other firms (frequently either the managing agent firm itself, or other companies which it manages), and loans from banks. In the latter case it is customary for joint stock banks to require two signatures, one of which must be that of the managing agent firm.

As a rule each managing agent controls a number of firms engaged in various types of enterprise. Thus the opportunity for

* G. E. Hubbard, *Eastern Industrialization and its Effect on the West*, p. 255.

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loans, purchases and sales between the companies under the one management become very great. For instance, the well-known firm of Andrew Yule acts as managing agent for fifty or more concerns, including at least ten jute mills, fifteen coal companies, two hydraulic companies, a flour mill, and many miscellaneous concerns. Payment is made to the managing agent by means of a fee for office expenses, and commission for management (based on output, sales or profit), whilst it also profits from the sale of goods to the concerns managed, and from share-ownership.

In the nineteenth century the system had certain advantages. It provided expert, reliable and continuous management; the promotion and financing of new ventures were facilitated; economies were secured in administration and from joint purchase and sales. No doubt so long as large-scale industry was in its infancy, when it was mainly in the hands of Europeans who did not reside permanently in the country, and when it was above all necessary to inspire confidence in European investors, the system tended to promote rather than retard enterprise. The system was not confined to European companies, but was adopted in the cotton mill industry (which has always been mainly in Indian hands) and spread to many modern types of industry which have sprung up with the extension of joint stock company organization in India.

Criticisms of the system became vocal towards the end of the nineteenth century, and have since increased in volume and bitterness. The rapid growth of diverse industries, under the ægis of protection, the greater supplies and availability of Indian capital for industrial purposes, and the ever-growing need for quick adaptation on account of changing technique and the pressure of competition, have rendered urgent a more elastic system, giving more scope for indigenous enterprise and leadership, and which shall restore to shareholders their rightful place in control of those to whom they have entrusted their capital.

Defects of the System

The chief defects of the system in the past may be summarized as follows. Firstly it has led to undue concentration of control. Not only have the managing agents owned a substantial proportion of the shares, but in practice they have controlled the nomination of directors, and have chosen their nominees from a very small circle. Hence the same individuals serve on many boards of directors. Individual shareholders are unorganized and apathetic, and hence have failed to exercise even such powers as they possessed. Directors have been chosen on account of their connection with managing agents and financial status rather than for

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specialized knowledge, and few possess technical qualifications. No time limit has been set to the appointment of managing agents, who have not been removable by shareholders. The office, notably in the cotton mill industry, has tended to become hereditary, whilst in certain cases it has been assigned to the managing agents' nominee without reference to the shareholders.

Indian Company Law

The status and power of managing agents were particularly anomalous because, until the Act of 1936, they were not even mentioned by Indian Company Law. Legislation was contained in the Act of 1913 (modified in 1914), which amended the Act of 1882 and was based on English Company Law. This Act aimed at safeguarding shareholders by enforcing publicity as regards contracts and the interests of directors. It was argued that it was unnecessary to mention managing agents because when they were directors they were dealt with by the law in that capacity, and when they were not directors their relations with the company were necessarily governed by contract, and the Act provided that every material contract must be disclosed in the prospectus.* A proposal for the appointment by shareholders of a majority of independent directors was negatived on the ground that in fact this would disfranchise the majority of shareholders, in favour of a minority, because in practice the majority of the shares in many concerns were held by the managing agents themselves, together with their friends and relatives.

Under these conditions the managing agents and their associates have formed a closed circle, in control of the principal large-scale industries. Young men without influence have been unable to enter the circle, all the more because of the lack of provision for training or for gaining industrial experience.

Secondly, the system has tended to hinder the development of a sound relationship between industry (especially small-scale enterprises) and banking, as joint stock banks have hesitated to assist enterprises unless the latter were backed by managing agents,† whilst indigenous banks charge heavy interest rates and entail other disadvantages.

Thirdly, the system has discouraged initiative and enterprise, as managing agents have preferred to concentrate upon the promotion of types of enterprise already tested by experience.

Fourthly, the system has offered many opportunities for exploitation arising out of dealings between managing agents and

* V. Anstey, *Economic Development of India*, Appendix E.

† The Banks have been severely criticized for their policy, but have not been entirely to blame, because of the tendency of Indian firms to undercapitalize, the original capital frequently being insufficient to cover even block capital.

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the companies they manage, and between the various companies managed by one agent. Moreover, although the Act provided for full disclosure of interests, in practice these clauses have not been fully enforced.* There is also a possibility of a clash between the interests of the various firms managed by one agency.

Finally, the payment of commission upon output or sales, instead of upon profits, tended (where adopted) to divorce the interests of the managing agent from those of the company managed.

The Indian Companies (Amendment) Act, 1936

The Act of 1936 attempts to remedy some of these evils by regulating the status and activities of managing agents, directors and shareholders. It also regulates the winding up and liquidation of companies. In addition, it provides special regulations for banking companies. Here it is proposed to concentrate mainly upon the clauses referring to directors, managing agents and shareholders.

(1) Amendments Affecting the Powers and Functions of Directors

According to the Act of 1913 it was necessary to vest the powers of management in a board of directors, but nothing was said about the size of the board. The new Act provides that there shall be at least three directors, two-thirds of whom shall be elected by the share- and debenture-holders, and not more than one-third of whom shall be nominated by the managing agent. Not less than two-thirds of the directors of companies incorporated after the commencement of the Act are to have their period of office determined by rotation. A director appointed after the commencement of the Act can be removed from his position before the time of retirement by rotation by an extraordinary resolution of a general meeting. A directorship is not to be assigned, unless with the approval of the company by special resolution. Undischarged bankrupts are ineligible as directors, and no servant of the company, not excluding a director, the managing agent or manager, is to be exempted from any penalty or liability by means of any articles of agreement. Loans or guarantees of loans by a company to a director, or to a firm of which such director is a partner, are prohibited, and directors cannot hold any office of profit under the company, except that of a managing director, managing agent, or manager, as a legal or technical adviser, or a banker, except with the consent of the company.† No director

* Report of the Statutory Enquiry into the Cotton Industry, 1936, p. 86.

† This does not apply to offices held by directors before the commencement of the Act.

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or managing agent can enter into contracts with the company for the sale, purchase or supply of goods except with the consent of the board. The profit and loss account must show particulars of payments to directors and managing agents, whether as fees or commissions, etc., and it is compulsory to publish the directors' annual report.

(2) Amendments Referring to Managing Agents

The new law defines a managing agent as "a person, firm or company entitled to the management of the whole affairs of a company by virtue of an agreement with the company, and under the control and direction of the directors, except to the extent, if any, otherwise provided for in the agreement,* and includes any person, firm or company occupying such position by whatever name called."

Certain limitations on the powers of managing agents have already been mentioned under heading (1) above. In addition, it is provided that existing managing agencies shall end after twenty years, unless renewed by vote of the shareholders, and that new managing agencies shall not be granted for a period of more than twenty years. The transfer of the office of managing agent by sale of rights is prohibited unless with the consent of the company. Managing agents are to vacate office if they become insolvent or are convicted of a non-bailable offence, and if the company is wound up on account of the negligence or default of the managing agent, no compensation is to be paid to him. The mortgaging of the commissions and remuneration of managing agents is to be illegal. Loans by the company to the managing agent are prohibited, and managing agents are also prohibited from borrowing from one company under their management for another company under their management, except in the case of subsidiary companies. A managing agent must not engage on his own account in business competing with that of the company managed. The payment of commissions to managing agents is to be based on a fixed percentage of net valuation of profits, the method of calculating profits being determined in great detail. This will bring to an end the payment of commission on output or sales, as also the prevalent system of calculating commission before deduction of depreciation. Provision is made for a minimum payment to the managing agent, if profits are absent or inadequate. Finally, the appointment, removal or variation in the terms of appointment of the managing agents must be approved by shareholders at a general meeting.

* The agreement is the contract whereby a managing agent is appointed.

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(3) Amendments Relating to Shareholders

In addition to the various provisions already mentioned affecting the rights of shareholders to appoint directors, remove a director before retirement by rotation, control the acceptance of office under the company, control a transfer of the office of managing agent, and to control the appointment, removal or variations in the terms of appointment of a managing agent, it is laid down that shareholders whose rights are altered by a majority vote can appeal to the Court, which can disallow the alteration if it is satisfied that the latter would unfairly prejudice shareholders of the class who have applied to the Court, that the minute book of general meetings is to be open to inspection by the shareholders, and that shares cannot be allotted by the directors unless a minimum subscription necessary for certain fixed items of expenditure has been received. This latter provision should go far to prevent the undercapitalization which has been referred to above as a prevalent defect.

The chief provisions affecting banking companies prohibit the formation of such a company after the Act comes into force unless shares sufficient to yield Rs. 50,000 for working capital have been allotted; compel the transference of at least 20 per cent. of the profits to a reserve fund until the latter is equivalent in amount to the paid-up capital; provide for a cash reserve amounting to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the time and 5 per cent. of the demand liabilities, and prohibit such a company from forming or holding shares in any subsidiary company, except a subsidiary company of its own formed to undertake business incidental to banking, as defined by the Act.

The new legislation may be expected to prevent the worst of the actual abuses previously prevalent, to improve substantially the position of shareholders—if the latter take advantage of their legal powers—and to widen the choice of directors. On the other hand, little or nothing has been done to prevent the reappointment of managing agents, or to lessen the concentration of industrial management in their hands, except in so far as their management has been conspicuously inefficient or fraudulent. It has been suggested* that the law may give them a new lease of life. At any rate it is clear that reforms in other spheres, especially in the spheres of banking and of training for industrial management and leadership, are also necessary, if Indian industrial enterprise is to be freed from the stranglehold of custom and the shackles of a system for the promotion and organization of industrial enterprises which originated to meet problems and a situation which have now become things of the past.

* *Insurance and Financial Review*, December, 1936, "Reforms of Indian Company Law," by T. Banerjee.

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THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT IN INDIA*

By Nabagopal Das, ph.d.(econ.), i.c.s.

Introductory: Managing Agents

If one takes a cross-section of industrial enterprise in India today one is surprised to find the existence, nay, predominance, of a peculiar institution in almost every branch of industry. This is the so-called Managing Agency system—an institution that has come in for a good deal of criticism in recent years. Historically, the rise of managing agents was due to the fact that they fulfilled the rôle of promoters and pioneers in the various industries of India; they came into prominence because it was they and they alone who could supply a regular stream of trained and efficient managers; and they gathered power as they found that the capital market was notoriously shy and that industry looked to them for financial aid, both direct and indirect.

The dominance of managing agents in the sphere of industrial activity in India has been achieved by certain special circumstances. Firstly, in many industries the managing agents themselves or their friends have holdings of substantial blocks of shares. In 1927, in the cotton textile industry of Bombay the percentage of shares held by managing agents was, on the average, 40 to 60 per cent., and in exceptional cases it was as high as 90 per cent. In the jute and coal industries also, managing agents or their friends hold an important percentage of shares in the concerns they manage. Secondly, control is secured by managing agents as the principal creditors (or guarantors of credit) of the companies managed. Sometimes managing agents are the largest debenture-holders having charges on the assets and undertakings of the companies. Thirdly, even when managing agents do not hold any substantial percentage of shares in their concerns, they are assured of their control because the majority of shareholders, being distributed over long distances, are unable to unite effectively against their dictatorial management. Fourthly, although the Managing Agency system has been in existence in India for well over seventy or eighty years, the Indian law relating to companies

* For a more detailed study a reference may be made to the writer's *Banking and Industrial Finance in India* (Calcutta, 1936), and also to his forthcoming work, *Industrial Enterprise in India* (Oxford University Press, London).

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never statutorily recognized them or curtailed their activities until the other day (1936) and consequently unscrupulous managing agents could easily do a lot of things without actually transgressing the law. Finally, and this is most important, managing agents have secured enormous control by means of their written agreements.

Managing Agency Agreements

These managing agency agreements have come in for a good deal of criticism in recent years, and hence it is important to analyse what they imply. A managing agency agreement is, strictly speaking, a written agreement between a firm of managing agents on the one hand and an industrial concern on the other, by which the former undertakes to "manage" the concern in return for a certain office allowance and/or some commission on sale output or profits. The agreements are generally of two kinds—terminable and non-terminable. In Bombay and Calcutta a managing agency agreement is usually fixed for a specified initial period, at the end of which the discontinuance of the agreement is dependent on an extraordinary resolution of the company to that effect. The usual period in Bombay has been from 30 to 40 years, while in Calcutta it has been from 10 to 20 years. In Ahmedabad, on the other hand, with hardly any exception, the agreements are subject to no time-limit and are more or less permanent and non-terminable. As these agreements were outside the purview of law until the passing of the Indian Companies Amendment Act, 1936, they tended to be very arbitrary and autocratic, particularly in Bombay and Ahmedabad. Instances are known of agreements providing that the appointment of the agents was not liable to be revoked or cancelled on any other ground except their voluntary resignation in writing.

The most important item in a managing agency agreement (or "articles of association," as it is sometimes called) is the stipulation regarding payment of a certain office allowance and/or some commission by the company to the agents. A good deal of criticism has, in recent years, been levelled at these stipulations on the ground that they are arbitrary, excessive and unfair. Now, both the rate and the amount of these allowances and commissions vary from industry to industry and it is difficult to say that they are either excessive or unfair. Managing agents manage as well as finance, whereas managing directors would manage but not finance, and hence industry should be prepared to pay slightly more to the former. On the other hand, it is a fact that the agreements have given opportunities to unscrupulous managing agents to find devices for additional and/or secret profits. The managing agent's remuneration has generally been calculated on

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gross profits in the sense of profits before depreciation is set aside; an additional remuneration has often been obtained by way of a special compensation; and, finally, in some agreements clauses have been inserted for supplementary or secret profits.

Other abuses also crept in. In Bombay and Ahmedabad, for instance, the agreements often provided that the managing agent might assign to a third party his interests or his duties under the agreement and for this assignment no specific sanction by the directors or shareholders was needed. Managing agency firms have also been inclined to "manage" far too many companies at the same time and to inter-invest funds amongst these companies. This latter practice has not infrequently led to the perpetuation of thoroughly insolvent concerns which it would have been to the interest of an industry as a whole to have closed down. Finally, managing agents have been known to have engaged in purchase, sale or other subsidiary services on behalf of their managed companies even when the shareholders of those companies were reluctant to entrust them with the performance of those services.

The net position has been this: managing agents have, in recent years, been inclined to usurp for themselves more and more power through the instrument of their agreements. Even a company having a joint stock organization and a majority of independent shareholders was completely under the domination of the agent by virtue of the agreement, which was practically beyond the reach of legal control. In Bengal the European managing agency firms were largely free from these abuses, but in Bombay and Ahmedabad, barring a few exceptions, managing agency firms (mostly Indian) tended to be autocratic, inefficient and unimaginative.

The New Act and Its Significance

It was primarily to regulate the managing agency agreements and to stop some of the abuses of management noted above that the Indian legislatures passed a comprehensive Indian Companies (Amendment) Act last year.* The Act is based on two principal considerations: firstly, that every attempt should be made to make extremely difficult the malpractices which have come to light as a result of the working of the old Act of 1913; secondly, that the provisions for stopping these apprehended malpractices must not be so unreasonable and onerous as to keep away honest men from having to do anything with joint stock companies. The new Act does *not* abolish the managing agency system: it only prescribes certain standards of management and to some extent circum-

* The writer does not make a detailed analysis of the provisions of the new Act in this article, as a detailed study appears elsewhere in this issue.

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scribes the extravagant privileges of the managing agent *vis-à-vis* his company.

It would be interesting to note in this connection the fact that managing agency firms no longer monopolize all enterprise and managerial ability in India. Concerns managed by managing directors responsible to boards of directors are steadily on the increase, and even where managing agents manage a company on behalf of the board of directors, the latter are no longer just sleeping partners. A new class of entrepreneurs unconnected with established firms of managing agents is definitely emerging; and this is particularly noticeable in the new industries—*e.g.*, in the sugar, cement, paper, and match concerns.

The Future: Some Suggestions

What, then, is the outlook for the future? The future of industrial management in India resolves itself ultimately into a two-fold problem. Firstly, it is necessary that those who manage a company—whether they are managing agents, managing directors or a board of directors—must try to be more efficient and energetic than they have hitherto been. Secondly, the ever increasing body of shareholders and investors must begin to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the concerns into which they have put their money, so that it may become increasingly difficult for the management to remain inefficient or unenterprising. Legislation by itself cannot make management more efficient or honest, nor can it make shareholders more active or intelligent.

Regarding the first problem, the very large number of company failures during the last ten or fifteen years points to the fact that business efficiency as well as business morality have not reached a satisfactory level. The tendency of some business men in India to take advantage of any loopholes and to make money in all sorts of questionable ways should be a matter of deep concern to everyone interested in the industrial progress of the country. A very recent and typical illustration may be quoted from a report of the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, Bengal: "A type of malpractice very much in evidence during the last few years is the practice of receiving security deposits by offering employments. The security is received by the company and is said to be spent in its business, although it means nothing but paying the remuneration and travelling and other allowances of the directors and the managing agents of the company. The services of the persons engaged are very frequently dispensed with on the slightest pretext without returning the security deposits." It is, therefore, pre-eminently necessary that the various chambers of commerce and such organizations as millowners' associations should lay down

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strict rules of conduct for managers, directors and managing agents and should severely punish any breaches therefrom—without scruple or hesitation.

As regards shareholders, it is an encouraging sign that in the two most important industrial centres—viz., at Calcutta and Bombay—shareholders have banded themselves into shareholders' associations for the protection of their own interests. Nevertheless, the general apathy of the shareholder in India is a by-word and it has been noted in successive reports on the administration of joint stock companies in India. This apathy must go. Following the practice of Holland, in India also the shareholders of each company should appoint a small "Shareholders' Committee," consisting of representatives of both the big shareholders and the smaller ones, and this body may be entrusted with the work of supervising and reporting upon the activities of the management —whether managing agents or boards of directors, or both—to the general body of shareholders. This committee need not have the power to veto the acts of the management, but it should certainly have the power to call for details or explanations of their more important acts; and then it shall be left to the general body of shareholders to decide whether the discharge of duties by the management is satisfactory or not. This procedure will enable the average shareholder to keep himself in continuous touch with the affairs of a company, and, with goodwill on both sides, this will certainly not hamper the smooth administration of a company. On the other hand, it will make the habitually shy potential investor of India less nervous about sinking his money in an industrial enterprise, as he will have the assurance that he will be kept regularly informed of all the major developments inside his company.

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CEYLON'S PRESENT CONSTITUTION

By G. C. S. Corea

In this article I propose to set forth as fully as the limited space allotted to me permits the more important features of Ceylon's present Constitution, and in my next article I shall examine the difficulties that have been disclosed as inherent in such a scheme. It might perhaps be useful to begin by a rapid survey of the form of government that prevailed in Ceylon before 1931 when the new Constitution came into force. From 1815, when the British occupation of Ceylon began, up to 1931 the Governor carried on the Government with the advice of the Executive and Legislative Councils. The Executive Council was originally composed of officials, but later also of unofficials who were all nominated by the Governor. The Legislative Council up to 1911 consisted of officials and a few unofficials who were all nominated. The Elective principle was first conceded in 1911 when one member to represent the educated Ceylonese was elected. Further reforms in 1921 enlarged the number of elected members. These numbers were again increased in 1924 and resulted in an unofficial majority. The Council, however, still continued to function only as a means of ventilating grievances and criticizing the actions of the Government, which still was the Governor. By the new Constitution of 1931 the whole position was altered and the government of the country to a large extent was vested in a State Council consisting of fifty members elected on a universal franchise to represent the fifty territorial divisions into which the country was divided on a population basis, and eight members, of whom four were to be Europeans, nominated by the Governor. There were also three *ex-officio* members—*i.e.*, the Chief Secretary, the Legal Secretary and the Financial Secretary—who were to be called the Officers of State; but these three had no vote, although they could take part in the proceedings of the Council. The State Council was to sit in Executive as well as Legislative sessions. When the Council, completed in the aforesaid manner, assembled it proceeded to elect its Speaker by ballot and then divided itself also by ballot into seven Executive Committees. Each Executive Committee then elected one of its members as its Chairman. The Council thereafter proceeded to elect a Deputy-Speaker and a Deputy-Chairman of Committees. The Council was now ready to enter upon its task of government. Each Executive Committee above referred to was allocated definite functions, and the Departments

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of Government administering these functions were placed under the Executive Committee. The several Executive Committees into which the Government is thus divided are the Executive Committees of Home Affairs, Health, Education, Local Administration, Agriculture and Lands, Labour, Industry and Commerce, and Communications and Works, and the functions of each Committee are specifically dealt with in a schedule to the Order in Council of 1931. The Chairman of each Executive Committee is appointed by the Governor as the Minister of those subjects allocated to the Committee. These seven Ministers form the Board of Ministers. Here you have the whole scheme of government, and it now remains to see how this delicate task is carried out by this somewhat cumbersome and certainly novel scheme.

Each Executive Committee decides the policy that should be adopted in respect to the subjects under its control, and the task of carrying out that policy is undertaken by the departments in charge of those subjects. The departments are under the general control of the Executive Committees. These Executive Committees also have to deal with many questions of administrative details that come up from time to time for settlement. These Committees prepare the Annual Estimates for money necessary to maintain their departments and carry out the policy laid down. They also from time to time prepare special estimates for work of an unforeseen and urgent nature or for some new policy, the adoption of which has become necessary. In connection with policy the Executive Committee has to report to the State Council on any new policy it proposes to adopt in respect of the subjects under its control. These reports are debated in the Council and voted upon and if carried have to be ratified by the Governor, who has the power of refusing to ratify or of returning for further consideration. Once the report is adopted in Council and ratified by the Governor it becomes the policy of the Government. The Executive Committees may also submit motions in Council to obtain the opinion of the State Council. The Annual Financial Estimates and Supplementary Estimates are submitted by the Executive Committees through the Treasury to the Board of Ministers. It should also be noted that in respect of all subjects allocated to any Executive Committee that Committee is the only authority competent to deal with any question affecting those subjects. The Executive Committees are thus important because they take the initiative in shaping policy and in hammering out all the mass of details that is so necessary before a good case can be made out in the State Council.

The Board of Ministers consists of the seven Ministers and the three Officers of State. The Chief Secretary is the Chairman, but neither he nor the other two Officers of State have the right to

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vote. One of the Ministers is elected as the Vice-Chairman of the Board of Ministers and he becomes the Leader of the State Council. The most important function of the Board of Ministers is to submit the annual budget to the Council. The Board of Ministers cannot be considered as a distinct entity entitled to prepare the budget upon a definite policy which it has the desire to adopt. All that it can do is to reduce the expenditure proposed by the different Committees and then find out ways and means of finding money to meet the expenditure. This expenditure will be met by normal revenue or by new taxation if the normal revenue is insufficient. The Board of Ministers is collectively held responsible for the budget, and if it is thrown out the Council will be dissolved. The Board has also to consider and approve the supplementary estimates that Executive Committees propose to submit to the State Council. The Board is then able to exercise a check on the expenditure or even on the policy of Executive Committees, but has no power of initiation in regard to policy. It is, however, wholly responsible for finding money, and the burden and odium of new taxation proposals have to be borne by the Board of Ministers. No expenditure voted by the Council can be incurred without the prior sanction of the Board of Ministers, which it gives by the issue of a general or special warrant. The Board of Ministers also prepares the agenda for each meeting of the State Council.

The State Council itself meets on appointed dates to consider the agenda thus prepared. No oral questions can be asked except by way of supplementary questions arising from answers oral or written given to questions which have been sent in in writing to the Clerk of the Council. Notice of motions can be given in open Council by members. Government business has priority except during the time specially set apart for private members' motions or except when any matter of urgent public importance is taken up or when standing orders are suspended. The whole Council goes into Committee in its Executive Sessions, and all matters discussed in Committee are put to the vote when Council resumes. The State Council has two Standing Committees to which all legislative measures are referred after the second reading. These Committees after consideration of these bills report to the State Council, which has the power of dealing only with alterations actually made in Committee. Some bills and particularly the Annual Appropriation Bill are not referred to a Standing Committee, but are dealt with by the whole Council in Committee after its second reading in Council.

The three Officers of State form a Public Services Commission, which makes recommendations to the Governor in regard to all appointments above a fixed salary scale, while Heads of Depart-

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ments make appointments in their own discretion to posts carrying salaries below that scale. In the former class the Executive Committee concerned in the Departments to which the appointment is made are consulted and their recommendation along with that of the Public Services Commission goes to the Governor, with whom rests the actual appointment. All transfers are made and all disciplinary action is taken by the Public Services Commission. The State Council has no voice in any matter affecting the public service, and no motion or resolution affecting the pay, prospects or conditions of service of any public servant can be moved by a member of the Council without the prior sanction of the Governor. The three Officers of State are also like Ministers in charge of special subjects such as the Public Services, Finance, and the Administration of Justice. They are, however, not responsible to the Council but only to the Governor.

The Governor has only reserve powers vested in him. He must ratify reports adopted in Council in regard to new policy. He can give his assent to bills, or reserve them for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, or he can refuse to give his assent or return them for further consideration. In all matters which in his opinion are of "paramount importance or are essential to give effect to the Constitution" he has the right of certification and when the Governor so certifies the action acquires legal force. The Governor has the right in certain circumstances to dissolve the Council before its period is completed.

These are the main features of this novel Constitution. It will be obvious that it can be satisfactorily worked only by the exercise of great goodwill and co-operation among those who have shouldered the burden and also between them and the Officers of State. The present Governor, Sir Edward Stubbs, has definitely stated that the Constitution has been successfully worked. The credit must rest with all those concerned in its working, but this success was achieved by a special determination to avoid the many difficulties that often would have wrecked the scheme by the exercise of great caution and restraint. It will not always be possible to achieve this, and in my next article I shall analyze the difficulties and suggest remedies.

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A FILM OF MYSORE

ELEPHANT BOY

(*Reviewed by* Basabandranath Tagore.)

After seeing *Elephant Boy* at the Leicester Square Theatre, one can sigh with relief that this picture, which is based on Kipling's *Toomai of the Elephants,* lacks all the cinematograph "gags" that are generally used in ordinary American motion pictures. The most noticeable thing in it is that its cast does not include the name of a single woman and consequently we are spared the usual love scenes. It is devoid of all American slang, and for once we are honoured by the absence of the company of the G-Men. Though the film is so simple in its theme, it has a peculiar charm which enthralls both young and old alike.

Though the ivory trade is one of the most profitable businesses in the world, and in India we find elephants in large numbers, yet the killing of them is prohibited by custom and by game preservation laws. I remember on one occasion travelling with a friend from Calcutta to Ranchi by car, and it so happened that while passing through a wild mountainous gorge we were almost overwhelmed by a small herd of jungle elephants. My companion was on the point of opening fire when the local guide warned us that the killing of an elephant was prohibited by law. In any case it would have been foolish to fire on the herd, one of which was powerful enough to blow up the car and us with it at one kick. We stopped the motor for fear of creating noise and being noticed. I am glad to add, however, that though the elephants came very near to us, yet they passed by without causing any damage.

It is notorious that elephants can be very ferocious if they wish: but they are generally sympathetic towards living beings. It is, therefore, quite justified that in the story of the film Kalanag, when provoked by the cruel behaviour of Ram Lal, should turn out to be so ferocious. Moreover, Kalanag was calmed not only because little Toomai was his rightful master, but also because of his love for the elephant.

Another prominent feature is the acting of Sabu. It is indeed an amazing thing to see a boy of his age who had had no previous screen experience making such an outstanding success in his first picture. I remember seeing him in London at an Indian restaurant, and I was struck by his intelligent appearance.

Big game hunting is a popular sport in India, but capturing elephants is more thrilling and interesting, though it is within the means of Maharajas only, who own large forest reserves.

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Elephants are captured not only for their tusks, but also because they are much in demand by the Maharajas for maintaining their pomp and pageantry. In this picture we obtain a good idea of the way elephants are captured.

There is much to be said in praise of the scenery. The temple views, the partial glimpse of the Indian village life and the panoramic sights of the forest—particularly one where we see Toomai and Kalanag resting in the moonlight with wild deer in the jungle—are typical of the beautiful State of Mysore. Mysore, besides being rich in natural beauty, can well boast that under the wise rule of the present Maharaja it has garden cities famous for their green parks and fountains.

The film industry in India is making steady progress, but I am sorry to see that we seldom see good pictures like the *Elephant Boy*. I agree with those who maintain that the orientation of human themes to a planned theory of social evolution with a view to social reform fails in its purpose with an audience expecting little but entertainment in the worst sense of the word from the cinema. The cinema strictly remains an entertainment. Sex-interest has displaced all other interests and values and hindered us from an appreciation or understanding of the four functions of the cinema. But *Elephant Boy* offers us quite a simple and yet an intellectual entertainment.

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EDUCATION IN MUSIC*

By H.H. the Maharana of Dharampur

One can easily visualize the social importance of music when it is recalled that practically every Indian home began not so long ago, and in more senses than one, its day religiously with music. I assume that, like Gujarat and Kathiawar, other provinces had their morning musically started with what in my part of the country we call *Prabhatias*. However that may be, the very fact that Indian melodies have been distinctly classified as those composed for the different periods of the day—morning, noon and night—indicates how much of the daily social life of the country was soothed and elevated by music.

Similarly, the comparative study of the musical heritage of the world which has fortunately recently started has revealed the vast cultural wealth of India which could offer melodies of character inconceivable by other nations, hitherto inaccessible to other nations, and enriching the cultural wealth of every nation of the world.

It is true that little has been achieved to meet the primary educational needs of music. We have, for example, to arrange for suitable and cheap textbooks; to evolve a system of notations that could be easily employed for daily practice by students; and, finally, to regulate both the instruction and supply of competent teachers. But while these elementary problems are gradually being undertaken for solution by a number of individuals, and institutions like the School of Indian Music, which, I am glad to note, has projected the publication of a series of suitably easy and cheap music textbooks, they will remain more or less ineffective for the nation-wide uplift of music we are contemplating without the evolution of a definite policy of instruction in the higher grades where one could prescribe approximately the standards of music and its national objectives. This could only be achieved by securing for Indian music its legitimate University status.

Educational Work of Musical Institutions

But this recognition, which will come sooner or later—the sooner it will be the better—is only part of the vast amount of constructive work which remains to be done outside the Universities, the work which awaits the attention and energy of institutions like the School of Indian Music. I do not know whether there are many educational institutions of the character, scope, and modern complexion of the School of Indian Music outside this province. But I think that in the Bombay Presidency at least there are few, if any, music institutions that are sought to be conducted on the lines that Professor Deodhar is aspiring to lay down.

* Based on the author's presidential address at the annual gathering, School of Indian Music in Bombay, on March 20, 1937.

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I am, however, making the request to emulate Professor Deodhar's example not without certain clear reservations.

These reservations are suggested by what should be recognized as the particular national task and the responsibility of the educated. It is time that instruction in music should be systematized and popularly organized. It is necessary, indispensable, to collect and to classify and publish every information that we possess from the past. But it is not enough to think of the past or of the present only in the terms and outlook of the past. We have to face the present and shape it for a safe future for the vital growth of Indian music.

May I, therefore, as a friend of the School of Indian Music and, above all, of the younger and coming generation of Indian musicians, suggest that educational institutions like the School of Indian Music and intellectuals like Professor Deodhar should take up in earnest the practical solution of the problems of music peculiar to our times?

May I suggest that it is not enough, important as that is in great measure, to arrange concerts, academic and discursive lectures or occasional comments. The work of educational institutions like the School of Indian Music is, in view of the conditions peculiar to our country, quite distinct in many ways from the work of, say, the musical circles and societies, radio clubs or gramophone companies.

It is the work of alert and advanced educational institutions of music to formulate and solve practically the problems of, say, choral singing. I wish the School of Indian Music would devote attention to popularize choral singing.

The questions associated with instrumental music—their varying volumes, tone, structure, orchestration—are questions that must now be taken up without delay by the educational institutions of music.

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CORRESPONDENCE

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN STATES

LORD CANNING in his despatch of 1860 observes:

"It was long ago said by Sir John Malcolm that if we made all India into Zillahs (British Districts) it was not in the nature of the things that our Empire should last fifty years, but that if we could keep up a number of Native States without practical power but as Royal instruments we should exist in India as long as our naval superiority in Europe was maintained. Of the substantial truth of this opinion I have no doubt; and recent events (of 1857) have made it more deserving of our attention than ever."

Now the Federation is the culminating point of this policy. The Princes have no control over their army. It is meant only for imperial purposes; and it is under the supervision of a Military Adviser in every State. Police generally, in every State, is under the control of a European Inspector-General. Revenue and Finance Departments are worked by outside agencies and lent officers of the Government. The Executive Council in States that are furnished with such councils have a majority of such outside lent officers and are generally headed by chief Ministers and Vice-Presidents deputed to the Indian States. Many of the Princes are now largely in a position in which they sign the Firmans of their outside advisers and councillors. After Federation they will be in receipt of not more than 10 per cent. of the total revenue of their States for their expenses and those of their household.

In these democratic days the authors of the Act should be alive to the issues. It is not too late. Let the Secretary of State for India or the Governor-General of India address the Princes by issuing open and forceful circulars to sign the instrument of accession after obtaining the approval and sanction of their people by first establishing representative form of Government and making themselves constitutional Rulers. This will not only extend the life of the Princes, but will consolidate the Federation.

G. N. SOMANI.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

THE LEGACY OF INDIA. (*Oxford University Press.*) 10s. net.

(*Reviewed by* K. M. PANIKKAR.)

The Oxford University Press has done a notable service to the popularization of Indian culture by including in its "Legacy Series" a book on India. As a general survey of Indian achievements in the realms of art, science and thought, *The Legacy of India* is a book of some value, but, as Lord Zetland in his introduction has suggested, the word "legacy" itself would seem to be inappropriate, as India and Indian civilization can in no sense be said to have ceased to exist and left a legacy for others to draw upon. What the Vedas taught and what the Upanishads expounded form still the living thought of India. Equally in the realm of art, music and literature, the continuity of Indian life and tradition has never been broken. Indian civilization as a legacy seems therefore to imply a judgment which is fundamentally wrong and unhistorical.

The contributors to the volume form an imposing list, and include Professor H. G. Rawlinson, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Mr. R. P. Masani, Professor de la Vallée Poussin, Mr. A. H. Fox Strangways, and Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Naturally, in a collection of this nature, the quality of the articles contributed varies a great deal, and it could hardly be expected that the standard would be one of uniform excellence. Generally speaking, however, it may be said that the contributors have dealt with their subject competently and in a non-controversial manner. The tone and temper of the book are unexceptionable and all the subjects have been approached in a spirit of sympathy and understanding.

Especially interesting from the historical and general point of view is the chapter on "India in European Literature and Thought," by Professor Rawlinson. It is perhaps the first connected statement on a really important subject. Professor Rawlinson compresses within his limited space of thirty-seven pages an extraordinary wealth of detail and indicates lines of enquiry which should yield good results for scholars.

Dr. Thomas' chapter on "Language and Literature" could hardly be placed in the same class. It suffers from the prejudices of Western Orientalists. Vague generalizations based on a partial study of North Indian conditions can hardly do justice to such a wide subject. For example, it is stated that "under Mussulman rule the learning and literature of the Hindus became more and more reduced to scholasticism." While this may be true of Northern India, I do not think that even Dr. Thomas will bring within that sweeping criticism the extraordinary efflorescence of Sanskrit poetry in the court of the Vijayanagar emperors and generally in

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the South of India during the period of Mussulman rule in Delhi. His further statement that Jagannatha Pandita, who lived in the time of the Mughal, Dara Shikoh, was the last of the original Sanskrit lyricists and rhetoricians would also require modification in the light of the great Sanskrit literature of the South.

The chapter on "Indian Art and Archæology" could not have been entrusted to better hands than those of Mr. Codrington. It is a masterly survey, and although authorities may quarrel with judgments, for the ordinary reader it constitutes an excellent summary of a vast and difficult subject.

Professor Das Gupta had undoubtedly a difficult task in having to summarize the philosophic thought of India in twenty-three pages, but he has done it with undoubted ability. Unfortunately, Professor Das Gupta's style of exposition cannot be said to be lucid, and in parts he becomes, at least from the point of view of the layman, difficult to understand. Statements like the following may make sense to a trained philosopher, but it is clearly above the understanding of the ordinary reader :

> "A psychical structure is a relational complex. Like other relational complexes, physical or biological, it consists of parts which are mentally separatable and which can be regrouped in various relations; but awareness is homogeneous and has no parts. It is absolutely structureless and therefore unlimited and non-relational."
>
> "It is held by the Samkhya that psychical experience is possible only through a negative failure on the part of the psychic complexes to represent in the content the distinction that exists between the guna complexes and the non-relational *purusha*."

Perhaps philosophy cannot be made a popular subject and requires a special vocabulary to understand it, and in any case Professor Das Gupta does not seem to have made any special effort to make it easy for laymen.

Mr. R. P. Masani's essay on "Caste and the Structure of Society" is an original contribution which approaches this complex subject from a new point of view. In some ways it is the most valuable study included in the book and may be strongly recommended to anyone interested in the subject.

In his chapter on "Vernacular Literatures" Mr. J. C. Ghosh shows little knowledge of literature other than his own Bengali. There is hardly anything in his essay which shows an appreciation of the modern developments in Marathi, Gujarati, Telugu, and Malayalam. The last, evidently through ignorance, he relegates to the position of an unimportant vernacular and pontifically announces that for it the modern period can hardly be said to have begun. Mr. Ghosh cannot be expected to know Malayalam or even Telugu, any more than the present writer can be expected to know Bengali, but ignorance cannot excuse a statement which could only be made as a result of knowledge. Statements like "Previous to the nineteenth century none of the vernaculars except Urdu had a secular literature" can only be the result of a very partial acquaintance with Indian languages, for certainly, at least in South Indian vernaculars, secular literature developed side by side with the religious and devotional poetry. In Malayalam, for instance, some

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of the earliest-known classics, like *Unninili Sandesam*, are purely secular, and at no time was language dominated by religion.

The book as a whole suffers from a lack of understanding of South Indian history and literature. This is a serious handicap when it is remembered that to the "Legacy" of India, South India has had a great deal to contribute. Perhaps this book is not exceptional in that respect. For too long a time European scholars have been inclined to look upon India south of the Vindhyas as an unnecessary projection which interferes with their generalizations. How unhistorical and, from the point of view of cultural inheritance, how unjust this point of view is may be judged from the fact that the "Legacy" of India is conserved in better purity and greater vigour in the Peninsula than in the plains of Hindustan.

ELEPHANT DANCE. By Frances Habbart Flaherty. (*Faber and Faber.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR HARCOURT BUTLER.)

In charming letters Mrs. Flaherty tells the story of the making of the film based on "Toomai of the Elephants." It is sometimes suggested that films are "faked," at Hollywood or Elstree, in safe and comfortable surroundings. This was far from being the case with this film. For some nine months Mr. Flaherty was engaged with a huge staff under the direction of Mr. Korda and with the active help of the Maharaja of Mysore and his officials in studying jungle life in all its aspects; through hot weather and rains, under conditions of unavoidable discomfort, often of danger, with accidents and failures, but in the end with complete success. The story is illustrated by a series of sixty-four striking photographs and bears on every page the impress of authenticity. Those who have been privileged to see a kheddah in Mysore will be deeply interested in the account of the elaborate and skilful preparations which lead to the thrilling rush across the river into the stockade—a sight never to be forgotten. Those who love elephants will rejoice that the captives were all freed and returned to the jungle, bulls and cows and the baby calves who get so much sympathy but who are rarely if ever injured by their elders even in panic-stricken rushes. The finding of Sabu, a boy in the Maharaja's elephant stables, to represent Toomai, and the selection of the huge elephant Irawatha to represent Kala Nag, the capture of a wild tusker, the ways of the wild elephant singly or in herds, the chaining of Irawatha (Kala Nag) when "must" or mad, the movements of the elephants to resemble a dance, are all portrayed in vivid but simple language. The elephant dance is one of the jungle fictions round which Kipling has woven his great story. But there is more than a picture of jungle life. The book presents scenes of rural life generally and has much to say of the beauties of Mysore, the lavish hospitality of its revered and loved Maharaja, and what goes to make Mysore a model Indian State. No one interested in India, in Indian life, in the jungle, and in elephant lore should fail to read this fascinating book.

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THE INDIAN TARIFF PROBLEM IN RELATION TO INDUSTRY AND TAXATION. By Hirendra Lal Dey, M.A., PH.D. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 16s. net.

(*Reviewed by* PADMANABHA PILLAI.)

It is now well over a decade since India adopted a policy of discriminating protection, and the time has therefore arrived for a scientific and impartial review of the net results of that policy. Dr. Dey analyzes ably and exhaustively the consequences that have ensued from India's economic protectionism, and as his judgment is that of the anxious seeker after truth rather than that of one with preconceived notions of his own, it is to be hoped that his volume will be carefully studied by all who stand for clarity in economic thinking. It is to Dr. Dey's credit that he has had the courage to go behind the popular catchwords of the hour and subject to a rigorous scientific scrutiny the claims that have been advanced by the advocates of protection.

It may at once be stated that, while Free Trade is the ideal policy to be pursued in all countries, there are occasions when it would be both justifiable and desirable for any particular country to adopt a different policy. A country possessing great natural advantages for a particular industry might find itself handicapped at the start from the competition of fully developed rivals, and a policy of protection would be a legitimate method to broaden the basis of its economic life if the price to be paid for it by the consumer is not too high. For, as even the most extreme protectionist will have to admit, if the result of the policy is only to strengthen the economic position of a few producers at the expense of the general population, it is obvious that the nation as a whole will not be benefited. There are, then, two sets of questions which have to be considered before protection can be granted to any industry. The first is as to whether the industry is such as would be able to flourish without protection within a reasonably short time; and the second, whether the social cost of protection will not create distributive injustices and inequalities which may counteract whatever benefit the country may derive by the creation of a new industry.

Dr. Dey's first chapter is devoted to an examination of the social costs incidental to every protectionist policy. He shows how protection, by adding to the burden of indirect taxation, upsets the fiscal balance and accentuates the principle of regression. The burden of this increasingly regressive taxation on the masses of India could easily be imagined when we remember that already they are living on the margin of subsistence and that indirect taxes tend more and more to fall on the shoulders of those least able to bear it. Dr. Dey has examined almost all the arguments brought forward in favour of discriminating protection by the Indian Fiscal Commission, and arrives at the conclusion that the hopes entertained in that report erred on the side of undue optimism.

It is, of course, difficult to pronounce on the merit of any scheme of protectionism by considering merely the economic principles involved. In dealing with any such scheme we have to go further and come to close grips with specific instances; to ask whether it is likely that immediate loss will be counterbalanced by eventual gain, and what exactly are the actual

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conditions of the industry in question. These are not questions to be answered through deductive reasoning in terms of yes and no; they are to be answered, if at all, only through laborious research and by the examination of the protectionist experiment at work.

Dr. Dey has watched the Indian experiments as regards cotton, steel, and sugar, and is satisfied that the protectionist policy here adopted is unscientific and indefensible as regards both the principles of modern taxation and the requirements of the industry concerned; he takes the view that if these industries needed any help, that help could have been more usefully rendered by a bounty than by an enhanced tariff.

We hope that Dr. Dey's courageously thought-out book will be seriously studied by every publicist, industrialist, and administrator interested in India.

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, FROM BABAR TO AURUNGZEB. By S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S.(London). With an Introduction by Sir Abdul Qadir. (Peshawar: *Muhammed Sadiq Khan.*) Rs. 5.

(*Reviewed by* JOHN KAVANAGH.)

A strange, *memento mori* atmosphere lies over this able and conscientious volume, wherein is gathered up perhaps all that history knows of the Mughal rule in India. The dust of ages rises underfoot, rises chokingly, as one treads interminably the halls and corridors of these royal palace-tombs. Once again one stands, as it were, within the fated Escorial, among the silent ruins of Zimbabwe, or, in Japan, amid the mighty Shogun-memorials of the vanished Tokugawa. And yet this half-eerie impression is very far removed from Mr. Jaffar's purpose in preparing his volume—very far indeed!

As Sir Abdul Qadir in his well-written Introduction remarks:

"Students of Indian History owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. S. M. Jaffar for his book. Mr. Jaffar has taken pains to study the numerous books on the subject, in English, Persian and Urdu, and has very ably summarized the material. . . . While dealing with the Muslim point of view, and trying to explain actions of the Mughal Emperors which have been adversely criticized by some modern historians, Mr. Jaffar does not ignore the general Indian point of view. . . . For instance, the following remarks of his about the Emperor Jahangir are very interesting: 'Like his father, he loved to hear Hindi songs and took delight in patronizing Hindi poets. Born in India, and of Indian parents, Jahangir loved things Indian, and felt delighted in Indian environments.' . . . I think it can safely be said that the author has given to the students of Indian history an accurate as well as an instructive account of the Mughal rule in India."

All of this is as just as it is true. But the impression left by Mr. Jaffar's book is a sad impression, the sadness of a rain-wracked sunset after a stormy day. For, when all is said and done, the Mughals were, and to the end remained, strangers in a strange land, of whose mighty works, as compared with their intentions and brave efforts, so little, beyond traditions, remains. And yet, so much they gave!

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"The Mughal Government undertook to guard the country against external invasion, to regulate foreign policy, to maintain law and order, to suppress crime, to provide for the protection of life and property, to disseminate justice, and to protect private contracts. Apart from these, the Mughal Government performed public duties such as the fixing of coinage, regulation of trade and industry, construction and maintenance of roads and highways, establishment of hospitals, rest-houses, and other works of public welfare, administration of famine relief, promotion of education, and encouragement of arts and literature."

Could not these very words have been written by Lord Macaulay, Lord Canning, and by other mighty administrators of our own race? And that, not of the Mughals, but of themselves; not in the past tense, but as a declaration of present and future policy? In India there are these fixed things, the mountains and the forests, the rivers and the plains. There is also a multitude of peoples, and many pantheons of gods. In the centuries to come, who knows whether of British rule, of British ideals, of British protection and justice, there may be spared but one tangible symbol—Jan Nikalsain on guard, still watchful, still deified and worshipped, on that blood-stained plot, outside the gate of Delhi?

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE. By Sir Edward Blunt. (*Faber and Faber.*) 8s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* DR. C. COLLIN DAVIES.)

Although the members of the Indian Civil Service have played a paramount part in the fashioning of British India, it was not until 1931, when Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley published his well-written account, that the first connected history of this service appeared. Now comes Sir Edward Blunt's volume on the same subject, and we can frankly state that there is room for both books. Sir Edward's object is to explain to the British reader who has no personal knowledge of India the nature of the task which the Civil Service in India is called upon to perform. Although he makes no claim that this work is the fruit of original research, the reader soon realizes that the author has had a vast and varied administrative experience, and that in chapters which could very well have been produced by the armchair historian passages occur which could only have been written by a man who had spent the best years of his life in close contact with the peoples and problems of India. It is therefore a book which should be studied by every young civilian before proceeding to take up his duties in the East. It is also the most lucid constitutional history of India that the reviewer has yet come across and can be safely recommended in preference to more pretentious works. Many retired civilians are prone to glorify the past, to regret the departure of the good old days, and to look askance at a younger generation of officials with whom because of their age they are somewhat out of touch. Many stress the fact that the Service under the new Constitution must lose its unique character of a small body of British officers entrusted with the administration of a great country, while some

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go so far as to contend that nowadays India offers no prospects to ambitious and adventurous young men. If the prospective reader fears that he may find this kind of argument in the pages of Sir Edward's fascinating volume he will be sorely disappointed, for the author holds, and this is the main thesis of his work, that India still requires a British element in her administration. If it be true that in the past India called for the best type that could be found, it is even more true of the future, for we have now reached a stage where, if the new constitutional experiment is to succeed, quality must make up for quantity. The civilian of the future must possess "personality," adaptability, and the quality of mental alertness. Above all, he must be free from all traces of racial prejudice. To justify its existence the I.C.S. must be more than ever before a *corps d'élite*. "We want," said Lord Willingdon in a recent speech, "young men with enterprise, imagination, a sense of responsibility and sympathy with the aspirations of the people of the country; men who are ready to take their part in what is still the finest and most interesting Service that there is in any part of the British Empire."

The most valuable part of the book is the detailed and attractively written description of the work and duties of a civil servant, for it is the never-ending variety of India with its different languages, races, and customs that fills his life with interest. Administrator, revenue expert, judge, secretary, diplomat—all these offices have been, and still are, filled by members of this Service, while rural development and broadcasting are likely to lead to the creation of new departments and duties. Under the pressure of modern conditions the district officer is confined for long periods to his office, but, if he is not to lose touch with the people entrusted to his care, arrangements will have to be made to reduce his desk-work. Lord Linlithgow has already promised to effect this necessary change, for upon the energy and personal character of this official depends the efficiency of Indian administration. The author sees a great future for the new recruit in the political department as a member of which he may find himself posted to Kabul or Katmundu, to Gyantse or Meshed, to Muscat or Kashgar. As a political officer he may be fortunate enough to take part in a frontier campaign or may be sent on a mission to Lhasa. What more can a young man hope for?

In the pages of this book the would-be civilian will find much useful information and advice. He will learn what to expect in India from his earliest duty of "chasing *patwaris*" to the days when he may sit in the seats of the mighty. He will be initiated into the mysteries of *peshi* and *sawalkhana*, and will discover that a few remarks about the peasant's crops are as safe a conversational gambit in India as the weather in this country. Of one thing he can be certain. Under the new Constitution he will not be called upon to act as an official legislator. And what of the future? All the old safeguards, and some new ones, are there—the stronger, perhaps, because they are definitely laid down in a statute which Parliament alone can alter.

A few minor slips will require correction in future editions. The account, on p. 65, of the powers of the Supreme Council over the subordinate presi-

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dencies is incorrect, because it fails to note the dangerous loophole provided by the ninth clause of the Regulating Act. The States included in the United Provinces are now in immediate political relations with the Government of India and not, as stated on p. 173, with the provincial government. The origin of the office of *kanungo* is uncertain, and it cannot be maintained (*vide* p. 108) that it owed its inception to Akbar. Neither is the statement, on p. 128, that Akbar's revenue system was continued without material change by his three successors correct. Akbar's immediate successors departed from the main principles of his rule, and we know for certain that by the reign of Aurangzeb the revenue demand had been raised from one-third to one-half of the gross produce. But these are minor points and in no way detract from the value of this up-to-date account of the Service of which the author was a distinguished member.

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE. By K. A. C. Creswell. (*Clarendon Press.*) Twelve guineas.

(*Reviewed by* ARTHUR UPHAM POPE.)

This sumptuous publication constitutes a landmark in the history of Near Eastern studies. Architecture was ever the mistress art. It provides the most revealing permanent reflection of the life of any people. It expresses deep and characteristic ideals. It is a dependable record of cultural development, of political vicissitudes; measures the contributions of the great personalities and mirrors the interchange of cultural influences. In it theology, religion and government find a home, other arts their opportunity.

The architecture of Islam is of peculiar importance. It is a witness to the diffusion and the potency of a faith that has been one of the outstanding factors in history. It produced a variety of masterpieces that are to be found scattered from Samarkand to Cordova and from Kiev to Zanzibar and Malaya. It played a vital rôle in the development of the architecture of many other regions with which it was affiliated, receiving some, giving more. Its relations to the architecture of Europe have yet to be determined with precision, but we know enough to realize that they were of primary importance and that neither Romanesque nor probably Gothic architecture can be fully understood without reference to Near Eastern contributions.

This architecture as a whole has yet to be adequately studied. It has been the subject of admirable monographs which are gratefully known to all scholars in the field, but of systematic, thoroughly grounded and comprehensive research and exposition we have had, until the present, none. Hence the work of Professor Creswell is an event of outstanding cultural importance, indispensable to the general student of Near Eastern culture as well as to the architect and art historian.

For it has been conceived with an amplitude and been carried through

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with a resolution and self-sacrificing adherence to the severest standards that are indeed rare in historical works in our time. Terms for the high rating of books have been used with such negligence and even irresponsibility, an imprudent excess of praise has so often been lavished on mediocre accomplishments, that when a really outstanding performance is achieved, there are available for its appraisal only words that have been weakened and compromised. This book represents a quality of workmanship that some had despaired of in our generation and is certain to have a tonic and inspiring influence on all relevant undertakings.

The boldness, almost exceeding prudence, with which it was envisaged, and the resolute, almost fanatical adherence to the standards set are a tribute to character and a proof of what can be accomplished, granted sufficient determination. Such works are usually undertaken on the commission of a government or a heavily endowed foundation. This work was Professor Creswell's own personal plan, and although he received acknowledgment and assistance for it from his late Majesty King Fuad and a few other patrons of scholarship, which he generously acknowledges, the achievement remains, as was the effort, very largely a personal one. Harassed at many turns by uncertainty, with all its beguiling temptation to compromise quality and to find escape in relaxed ideals, it has been a fifteen-year effort which only those who have had direct experience of similar enterprises can fully gauge.

The work is magnificently presented by the Oxford University Press. The type is dignified, handsome, readable, the paper of the finest, the text illuminated by large collotype plates of photographs for which the author has long been famous. If these are sometimes too dark, they are on the whole of superior quality. Additional half-tone plates scattered through the text are uniformly brilliant and many of the detail drawings are of the best. The plans are clear, impeccable, and, there is every reason to believe, wholly dependable. There is an ample and admirably arranged table of contents.

Every device that the author could contrive to add lucidity to the presentation and to make it available for use and study has been employed. The scale of the drawings is in a simple decimal multiple, permitting them to be taken off instantly with a centimetre measure, and even the photographs, when presenting a flat view, have been reproduced to a measured scale so that they can often be used almost as measured drawings, a precision for which students will be constantly grateful.

Professor Creswell has resolutely aimed at perfection and at no point voluntarily yielded. Where specialists have been needed to complete some recondite aspect of the work, he has called on them. Thus Miss Marguerite van Berchem has provided, in about a hundred pages, a detailed and authoritative description of the mosaics in the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque at Damascus, for which she deserves great credit. The zodiacal motifs in the decoration of Qasr Amr' have been dealt with by Professor F. Saxl and Dr. Beer.

Professor Creswell has himself laid under service all the relevant documents in a half dozen languages, with a thoroughness rarely achieved. He apparently knows well everything written that refers to any of his problems,

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and he appends to each chapter a detailed bibliography of vast range, exhaustive, dependable, organized with judgment and good sense, which is in itself a notable accomplishment.

Few books have been so fortified by footnotes. Sometimes minor points have been pressed with a luxurious, not to say desperate, completeness. The history of lesser errors, that concerning the height of Mount Zion, for instance, has been followed through centuries and in all its divagations until the whole process of such myth-making is bleakly exposed, not a superfluous task because it furnishes a striking warning of the means by which mistakes are established and propagated. The erroneous belief that the Aqṣā Mosque was originally a church is similarly traced through some fifty-six publications, beginning at the end of the fifteenth century (p. 23, n. 2). At some points, however, the lavishness of detail may seem overdone. One reaches occasionally a point of diminishing returns, the time and effort involved for both author and reader being disproportionate to the results. Yet this very inclusiveness does give a feeling of confidence that nothing essential has been omitted and imparts to the work something of the character of an encyclopædia or dictionary.

All the important architectural forms, such as the pendentive, the pointed arch, various types of vaults, and the minaret, are discussed, with a lucid, compact and searching historical exposition, a blessing to the young student and grateful enough, because of new knowledge and ideas brought to bear, to the most hardened professional. Each problem of dating is considered with a fullness which would satisfy an exacting pedant. Every view is formulated, and although Professor Creswell frequently has occasion roundly to abuse some of his predecessors, sometimes immoderately, his presentations of their statements are always just.

His castigations are frequently, it must be said, well deserved, as when he makes plain Rivoira's heated partisanship which lead him to the frequent distortion of fact. But to say "Strzygowski in an article which I have already characterized as a tissue of absurdities" (p. 81) is a little too strong in speaking of a provocative mind which has vitalized research in the history of Near Eastern art so profoundly that no one can now write or even think in this field without acknowledging his presence; or to say of him: "Never was a theory constructed on such a flimsy basis" (p. 55), is unnecessary after Professor Creswell has already so carefully demonstrated the truth of his criticism. The task before historians of Near Eastern art is too complicated, and heat-generating animosities and jealousies too easily stirred, for any of the conventional courtesies that hold between scholars who honestly err, not to be sustained. For insincerities or falsifications of fact there is no scourge too merciless.

The whole character of the architectural effort of Islam and its cultural origins are set forth in an incisive and economical manner, and to a great many readers this will be a revelation; for basing his case squarely on the soundest historical researches and making full use of the magnificent achievements of Caetani and other historians, the author expounds the beginnings of Islamic architecture in a way that destroys many old, familiar and comfortable fallacies. But in obliterating them for all time he makes it

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possible to present a much more intelligible picture of its formation than could be constructed on the now discredited theory of a substantial Arab contribution.

He depicts Muhammad's indifference to all architecture, the meagre character of the first mosques, which soon became the forum of Islam, but started as little more than general meeting places where a crowd could congregate, prisoners be bound, entertainments be given, as well as prayers said and sermons preached, and where, of course, all the administrative business of the primitive community could be controlled. The Arabia out of which Islam issued is so clearly shown to have been a complete architectural vacuum that further discussion is superfluous.

Nowhere can we find in so brief a form such an admirable statement of the influence of social factors on early Islamic architecture.

There is a brilliant and authoritative description of Muhammad's own house, which began as a private residence and only gradually assumed its public function. Many other critical factors are similarly set forth, not only with real historical insight, but in an admirable narrative style that makes exciting reading, a merit too infrequently associated with the more stately monuments of scholarship.

The Mosque of 'Amr in Cairo, sanctified by many guide-books as the oldest in Islam, now disappears into the limbo from which it ought never to have been summoned. This building, built, rebuilt, added to and rebuilt again, as Professor Creswell says, "should never be mentioned in any serious discussion of early Muslim architecture" (p. 81).

There are a number of controversial issues familiar to the professionals in the field which are finished off by the author with a decisive finality, burying them deep under economical verbal epitaphs well calculated to keep them permanently quiescent. In dealing with the Mosque of al-Walīd in Damascus, Professor Creswell convincingly solves the complex problems concerning the original state of the building. The Persian contribution to the building is somewhat slighted, but by the author's own documents (p. 101) it must have been considerable, for Persian workmen were among those assembled for the work and one of the two architects was a Persian, 'Ubaid ibn-Hurmus. Miss Berchem also slights various unmistakable Persian elements in the patterns of the mosaics. The Egyptian work which Alfradito ordered at the Damascus mosque in 709 was also executed under the direction of a Persian, Vazīd ibn Tamīm. Professor Creswell has not done full justice to the Eastern sources of some of the motifs, structural and ornamental, perhaps because so relatively little is still known of the character of Persian architecture and its decoration. When the full history of Sāsānian architecture and ornament are written there is reason to think that it may well prove to have had more effect even on Syria than Professor Creswell has indicated.

Professor Creswell's appreciation of the mosaics uncovered a few years ago in the court of this mosque is most enthusiastic and perhaps a little wanting in his usual critical detachment, a forgivable fault in the presence of these handsome panels. The details and colours in the small compositions are indeed superb, but the larger ones suffer from an incoherence, a

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deficiency in rhythm and construction, and a lack of relation to the space ornamented which compromise their claim to the highest rank.

There has long been a question as to whether any structure was built on the site of the Temple in Jerusalem after it had been devastated by Titus in 70, or whether the Dome of the Rock was begun there quite *de novo*. Professor Creswell's decision, which has the air of finality, that there was no intervening structure, is a model of tight reasoning, effective use of documents and succinct expression. The Dome of the Rock is indisputably one of the world's great buildings, and Professor Creswell's treatment makes this evident. All the paraphernalia of his vast scholarship is brought to bear like a great arsenal on the problems of stylistic origin and its date. His conclusions that it is really an Islamic structure, Umayyad work of about 692, and neither a Byzantine original nor imitation, seem unchallengeable even if a little rigidly and mechanically expressed. Moreover, he has dealt with the complex and baffling plan in an illuminating way and shown how interference of the two concentric zones of columns, which would have robbed the view of richness and impressiveness, has been avoided by a slight torsion of the two component series in such a way as to bring the significant elements of each into view at the same time; and the puzzling problem of measuring a building with so many mutually interrupting elements has been solved with an ingenuity that every surveyor and draughtsman will admire.

Mshattā, that handsome but colossally difficult desert monument with its encyclopædic repertoire of animal and foliate ornament, which has been such a thorny thicket of controversy ever since it was discovered, is by Professor Creswell's patient accuracy and lucidity cleared of as many of its ambiguities as possible. He concludes, agreeing with Musil (and who will challenge?) that it was probably the building begun by Walīd II. and interrupted by his death in 743/4 (p. 403). Some may think that Professor Creswell has recounted the controversies and opinions at too great length, but we must be grateful for thoroughness even when it becomes at points tedious.

Another charming little desert castle, Quṣayr 'Amra, built for one of the Arab rulers who were still at heart nomads and loved hunting in the open desert quite as much as the perfumed luxury of the court, was for a time one of the archæological mysteries. For this the author has provided a summary discussion that may well be regarded as definitive.

In his discussions of the Mosque of al-Walīd, the ornament of the Dome of the Rock, Mshattā and Quṣayr 'Amra, a larger Iranian participation should, in the view of some scholars, have been recognized, and this applies likewise to a few of the specific problems. The author seems certain that the pointed arch, of which the earliest extant example is at Qaṣr Ibn Wardān, is a Syrian invention. It is true that this structure, which can be dated 561, does show a pointed arch, albeit the point is so slight that its very existence was denied until Professor Creswell himself by his own impeccable measurements took the question permanently out of dispute. But it is not safe to assume that the present lack of prior or contemporary monuments with pointed arches in Mesopotamia and Persia means that they never existed.

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Not one in a hundred, perhaps not in a thousand, of the sixth-century monuments in this part of the world remains standing.

Moreover, the fact that round and elliptical arches have continued in use together in Persia down to the present day is proof that the two forms can go together, so that the existence of one does not exclude the possibility of the other, and, as Professor Schapiro has already pointed out, Qaṣr Ibn Wardān is a brick structure in a stone-building culture, obviously intrusive in Syria, but thoroughly at home in Mesopotamia and Persia. Is it not, he asks, significant that the first appearance of the pointed arch should be in this structure rather than one in the tradition indigenous to Western Asia?*

The discovery by Dr. Erich Schmidt of a still unpublished building in Luristan, while making an archæological survey there for the Holmes Expedition of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archæology, with an unmistakable pointed arch on the central axis, combined with distinct Sāsānian features in the general plan and in the building materials and methods, raises again the possibility that the pointed arch may have found a prior application in Iran. Nor can we disregard the hint on the Sāsānian bronze salver in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, with its precise representation of a building the portal of which is an arch with an elevated point, and a similar form on a Sāsānian silver plate in the Hermitage Museum showing the siege of a fortress. These, and the false pointed arches in the upper course of the back of the Taq-i-Kisra façade should not be overlooked, for they are an unmistakable proof that the form, at least as a visual image, was familiar to, and approved by, Persian builders well before the close of the Sāsānian epoch.

The most exacting taste might find even the occasional use of the word "I" a little inappropriate in a monumental work that has the qualities of universality and permanence and which in itself, since it is the creation of a single individual, is in every line an acknowledgment of the author's handiwork and personality. Professor Creswell a little too often intrudes the personal pronoun and tells us what he is about to do or has done, and even speaks of "a remarkable confirmation of my theory," a quite superfluous self-congratulation in his case. The author is not thinking of himself but of the idea, and would have said the same if the point confirmed had been urged by a colleague, but the form of the statement might be regretted by a purist.

It must not be inferred from the authoritative and in many respects definitive character of this work, which of necessity becomes the foundation of every subsequent effort in the field, that nothing is left to be done in the history of early Islamic architecture. There are a number of minor issues concerning which there are two opinions, and a few questions of fact on which the author might be challenged. But aside from such discrepancies there remains a grave problem of the ultimate aim of architectural history and of the method or methods by which this end is to be realized. Occasionally the arguments seem to imply too great confidence in the statistical and analytic approach to solve the problem of architectural character, and at

* Meyer Schapiro, in *The Art Bulletin*, XVII (1935), p. 112.

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times Professor Creswell seems to be siding with the mechanists, for example, in seeking to express accurately the sources or cultural origins of some very complex and individual structures.

But the aim of the book was precisely defined and as definitely limited. He is primarily concerned with an exact description of each monument, including an analysis of structure, its complete history and the origins of the forms that it embodies. He has given more than he promised. Yet there are other and essential approaches to the problems of architectural history. These are not in the author's programme and he legitimately ignores them, but perhaps he does not adequately recognize their importance, an importance that needs to be constantly stressed, for it is in danger of being obscured by the pseudo-science of meagre and prosaic minds.

The attempt to identify the ingredients of a building and to express numerically the proportions of each is a legitimate historical exercise, but one very limited in use and application, and unless its limitations are acknowledged it may lead to deception. For a work of art is far more than the sum of its parts, and such a method involves an untenable theory of the nature of architecture as one of the fine arts. Organization is not an additive process, and a superb æsthetic unity like the Dome of the Rock is not like a poem pronounced in three languages, even though it does owe elements to several sources. No inventory of its structural factors reveals the source of its psychological power.

The error is a common one and favoured by pseudo-scientific tendencies in much of the *kunstforschung* of the day, with its naïve dependence upon the exploded fallacies of empiricism and materialism. This is, in effect, a kind of obscurantism, concealing the essential character of the work of art, frequently contenting itself with research that straggles out in the sandy deltas of non-essentials. The integrity of personality and singleness of will, of which the Dome of the Rock is such a moving expression, must of necessity forever elude the mechanistic approach.

Nor are such summary terms in any way extravagant or mystical. To each can be assigned a precise and controllable meaning. Interesting as is the identification of the elements and indispensable as such analyses must always be, it is their employment and transmutation by a system of inclusive relations which gives them their value and their reality as members of an æsthetic whole.

Professor Creswell is aware of the insufficiency of the statistical method, warns us against its crudity, and is himself intensely conscious of the profound beauty of the great buildings. But he offers us no technique for discovering or expressing it, and reduced by a curious vagary that so frequently victimizes the hard-headed and practical, frustrated by the incapacity of the analytical and mechanical approach to express the beauty of the whole, he at one place takes refuge in a romantic numerology that is bad mathematics and worse æsthetics, and as an explanation of the Dome of the Rock is hardly more than an incantation (p. 50). The actual passage is as follows :

> " Some of the ratios involved, such as the square root of two (as in the Dome of the Rock), and especially that which the diameter of a circle

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bears to its circumference, which enters into the equation of movement of everything in space, nay, further, into the equation of movement of the very electrons of the atom itself, are fundamentals in time and space; they go right down to the very basis of our own nature and of the physical universe in which we live and move, and may very well appeal to us subconsciously."

That the entire book would be searched in vain for any comparable example of Homer nodding is proof of the merit of the work. It is significant as a witness of the necessity for dealing with the æsthetic significance of a monument and the difficulty of finding the appropriate method. It is certain that physics and mathematics have little to say.

Beyond the listing of the physical components and the identification of their cultural origins lies the question of what was the visual and emotional effect intended. By what organization of volumes, composition of forces and movements, both real and implied, in how far and by what means realized, by what manipulation of light, by what adroit rhythms, plain and hidden is sovereign harmony achieved?

Such questions are not Professor Creswell's primary concern, and he might with good reason affirm that, however central such tasks of synthesis and interpretation may be, they must await first the establishment of the physical facts and their history, as well as the foundation of an æsthetics of architecture which does not yet exist. But the history of architecture will not get beyond the history of engineering until architecture is also recognized as a fine art, and treated by methods which are alone competent to its essential character.

Yet it is hardly fair to ask that one author shall be a master of both these essential types of investigation—mutually, although irregularly, related as they seem to be. In all fairness it is enough to ask, and a just cause for gratitude and esteem that Professor Creswell should have accomplished the almost heroic task of laying a foundation of fact so broad and so secure that it will amply sustain whatever structure subsequent investigation and reflection need to build upon it. Volume I. of *Early Muslim Architecture* is a great achievement, and there is every reason to think that Volume II. will surpass it.

EDEN—"THE BIBLICAL PARADISE." By Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Lane. (Edinburgh: *The Riverside Press.*) 2s. 6d. net.

The author, who has taken the keenest interest in geology, and made a profound study of Biblical geology, here gives the results of his researches into the problem of the location of the Garden eastward in Eden.

In connection with the archæological references to Sumerian data made in the book, Colonel Lane can speak with field experience at Kish. Moreover, he served for some years in Mesopotamia.

The author considers that the Sumerian and the Biblical Flood are identical, and in the same chapter makes interesting reference to recent floods such as that of the Indus in 1841 and the subsidence in 1819 of the western border of the Rann of Cutch.

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"The actual situation of the Garden of Eden," he writes, "must have been absolutely unique in the history of the world. The more its location is examined the more does the nature of its most extraordinary geographical prominence become apparent."

In another place he asks: "Can we then visualize the abode of the human race in the Garden of Eden?" And he adds: "The picture we can draw is that of mankind firmly established in a paradise, situated at the very hub of the known universe, a paradise prolific in the fertility of its soil and in the abundance of its terrestrial fauna."

FAR EAST

THE BIRTH OF CHINA. By Hewlee Glessner Creel. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 15s. net.

In *The Birth of China* Hewlee Glessner Creel has set out to give us "a survey of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization." This is a modest understatement. The book gives a history of Chinese cultures from Neolithic times until the end of the Chou Dynasty in such a form as has never been attempted before. It deals in turn with the origins of the state, sculpture, bronze, literature; in fact, with all that is known firstly of the Shang and then of the Chou Dynasty as revealed by the light of modern research and excavation.

The book would be welcome and would cover new ground even if it did not contain information of the latest archæological discoveries in North China. But these latter discoveries are not added to an otherwise complete book; they are interwoven in such a way as to bring past scholarship up to date. It replaces no other book because the information previously available could only be collected by referring to various separated papers and articles.

Resemblances between the decorative *motifs* of the Shangs and of the North American Indians, previously remarked upon elsewhere, are again discussed with more confidence but still with a great deal of caution. The human remains discovered at Auyang have put an end to the theory that the Shangs were an alien people to China; the skulls are of a Mongoloid race and resemble those of the North American Indians.

The search for a Pacific origin for these cultures seems to the present writer to be less hopeful. For although resemblances between the decorative *motifs* of China, North America, Mexico, and even of South America may be traced, Polynesia lacks evidence of ever having been a centre and origin of such cultures. The geometric centre of gravity may lie somewhere in the Pacific, but there is less evidence to show that the culture spread from the Pacific to China than that it was carried southwards in waves of migrations from Central Asia, and then by outrigger canoes across the Pacific.

The whole book is so well condensed and admirably written that it must surely be indispensable to all who are interested in China. It will keep as a book of reference that is a pleasure to read.

A. D. B.

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FICTION

FIGHTING ANGEL. By Pearl Buck. (*Methuen.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* C. M. GREEN.)

Not a few fathers may be uneasily thankful that their daughters are not gifted with Mrs. Pearl Buck's ruthless insight and literary skill. *Fighting Angel* is a companion piece to that exquisite and tender picture of Mrs. Buck's mother, *The Exile*, helplessly dragged through the mire of China by her missionary husband. This husband, the "Fighting Angel," was an extraordinary combination of iron sternness and the most childlike simplicity. He was one of seven brothers, harsh, obstinate, quarrelsome men like their father—

"Auld, auld Elliotts,
Clay-cauld Elliotts,
Dour, bauld Elliotts of auld."

All became ministers, but Andrew (the angel) alone went as a missionary. Thenceforward he had but one thought—to save souls. He knew neither fear, fatigue nor discomfort for himself or for anyone about him. He went from his wife's deathbed instantly to resume his work of translating the New Testament into Chinese. Incidentally, Chinese souls were the only ones that interested him, he never inquired about his family's. He fought furiously with his brother missionaries, themselves ready enough for a fight, but invariably defeated by Andrew's going his own way, which to him was the only conceivable way. He was a perfect embodiment of the fanatic—"a person who does what he believes Providence would do if He knew all the circumstances of the case."

Mrs. Buck has given us an enthralling book, a perfect piece of character-study, and incidentally of China viewed from a new angle. But again and again one revolts at a system which allows a man to drag wife and children into such a life as Andrew chose. The only time in the book when one feels like clapping one's hands is when Carie revolts at living any longer in the foul inn that Andrew had chosen because no one would rent them a house (she had already buried three children and the life of another was trembling) and went off to healthier quarters on the Yangtze.

"You can preach from Peking to Canton, but I and these little children will never go with you any more," she said.

It was all that Andrew wanted to do.

THE BACHELOR OF ARTS. By R. K. Narayan. (*Thomas Nelson and Sons.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* DOROTHY FOOKS.)

This is a story of a young Hindu at his University and afterwards till the eve of his marriage. It is told in a simple way that avoids the tendency of Indian writers to overload their work with detail and fall into the flowery trap of metaphor. His portraiture of an Indian family has the stark beauty of a landscape in winter. There is a bareness, yet sufficiency, of description

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which involves melancholy, but no bitterness, and very little of the fatalism that so often underlies the Indian character. The whole is lightened by a pervading and unforced humour that is refreshing and the tale grips the interest of its reader.

Chandran, the student, is drawn with all the bewilderment and enthusiasm of youth, and his development is handled with sympathetic understanding. Personalities and episodes remain in the memory after the book is closed: Chandran's life at college; his austere yet kindly father; the idyll of the girl Malathi seen at evening by the river; his period of disillusionment as a *sanyasi*; and finally the return to normality and work. It is a book that deserves to be widely read, for it shows well and clearly one facet of a vast and many-sided country, that of a family steadfast to its centuries-old tradition, though faced with ever-encroaching modernity.

GENERAL

TWENTY-ONE WEEKS IN EUROPE (1930). By the Raja of Bhor. (Published at Bhor.)

This interesting account (of over five hundred pages) by an Indian Prince, who was fifty-two years of age at the time of his first visit, records the pleasant impressions of English life gathered during three months, a considerable portion of which was spent in the Metropolis. The author proved himself a tireless sightseer, dividing his time between the museums, public buildings, sports fixtures, and the inspection of educational establishments. Detailed reference is made to the afternoon reception held under the auspices of the East India Association in July, 1930, at which he addressed a large audience on the subject of the Indian Princes and the Indian Constitution, which was published in the ASIATIC REVIEW (October, 1930).

There follows an account of his journey to the Continent, commencing with France in a chapter headed "The Land of Freedom," another being entitled "The International City and the League of Nations." Throughout the book reveals the judgment of an acute and mature mind.

PERIODICALS

BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR PERSIAN ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

There has just been published a new number of the *Bulletin* of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archæology (vol. iv., No. 4) which, faithful to its now well established tradition of presenting new discoveries and vital analyses in the field of Persian art, provides us with a new series of brilliant articles.

Professor Monneret de Villard, in an impressive article of great importance for the history of Christian Church archæology, traces the evolution of the Sasanian fire temple from its origins in the fourth century B.C., in the Achæmenid building at Susa, and in the Nabatæan temple of the first

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century. He skilfully employs some of the latest discoveries of Professor Herzfeld and presents for the first time all the known material on the subject in a clear, systematic, and penetrating analysis.

Dr. Phyllis Ackerman leads us through the complex of magic iconography into a new world of pre- and proto-historic culture, apparently antedating the classical Iranian sun worship: it is the moon culture with its central cow-moon Fertility Goddess Drvaspa. The seals of Elam and of Mohenjo-daro in the Indus Valley (third millennium B.C.) and the bronzes from Luristan (about 1000 B.C.) crystallize that iconographic complex, the roots of which stretch to the secret of a collective magic-sexual existence and to the drama of primitive economic struggles as related to that of the cosmos.

Pointing to the close relations between Iran and the Middle East, Dr. Alexander Strelkov discusses a square bronze tabouret with a procession of canine animals in the round, along the edge of the top, in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, found in Semirechye (Russian Turkistan); aligning it with similar objects in Russian collections, Dr. Strelkov comes to the conclusion that it was a Zoroastrian fire altar, dated not later than the second or third century A.D. His thesis is amplified in a note by Dr. Ackerman, who provides us with further important evidence consisting of actual objects and literary references.

The Soviet architect L. Rempel gives a very detailed mass-spatial and ornamental analysis of the mausoleum of Isma'il, the Samanid, in Bukhara, one of the most remarkable buildings of Central Asia of the Early Islamic period (about 900 A.D.), a study which is accompanied by excellent photographs and careful plans. The main architectural features of the monument, such as the gallery and the pointed arch, are studied in the light of their occurrence in preceding and following buildings. Of special interest is the presence of some embryonic functional Gothic elements in that mausoleum.

The richly decorated inscription in the Masjid-i-Jami' in Qazvin, built in 1113 (or 1115), form the subject of an article by Mr. Arthur Upham Pope which by its careful analysis actually represents a survey of Seljuq floral ornament. Tracing its beginning down to the Sasanian time and to the decoration in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, he shows its final and supreme achievement in the simple, yet complex Seljuq pattern proclaiming an important new message: the tri-dimensionality of the spatial treatment of the Iranian ornament.

M. André Godard, the Director of Antiquities of the Government of Iran, solves an age-old riddle. Following literary information, he was able to find the tomb of the great Safavid, Shah 'Abbas I. (1589-1628) in a mausoleum in Kashan. The part of the inscription on the tomb slab bearing his name was deliberately effaced during the Afghan invasion to protect the monument from destruction, but the tradition of its history was still kept alive among the guardians of the shrine.

A recently found Persian manual on the manufacture of pottery in Kashan, from the year 1300, is used by Dr. Kurt Erdmann, Berlin, for the identification of an overglaze painted, double-fired Persian pottery type. The last article concludes a discussion by Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, started in an earlier *Bulletin*, of some newly discovered ceramics with lustre paint-

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ing, signed or bearing dates of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.

An exhaustive review of the first fascicule of *Athar-é Iran*, the new publication of the Archæological Service of Iran, full of critical contributions, both in the field of methodology and architectural data, concludes the *Bulletin*.

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LA QUINZAINE COLONIALE. (Paris: *Union Coloniale Française*.) No. 736. 3.50 francs.

The present issue contains an interesting suggestion made by M. Georges Hersent on the occasion of the reading of a paper by Colonel Amery at the Academy of Colonial Sciences of the University of Paris. His proposal was that every year between a thousand and two thousand professors and teachers should visit some of the near-lying colonies and would thus provide very quickly on their return the means for the spread of the colonial idea. The author foresaw in this connection the happiest results for the more rapid development and greater prosperity of the French Colonial Empire. The speaker also stressed the importance of maintaining a colonial tradition which assured the steady flow to the overseas possessions of all that was best in the intellectual and professional talents of France.

The same issue contains an article on the coconut tree in Ceylon, and a comprehensive series of book reviews.

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